

Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskabs Publikationer i 8<sup>vo</sup>:

Oversigt over Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes  
Selskabs Virksomhed,  
Historisk-filologiske Meddelelser,  
Archæologisk-kunsthistoriske Meddelelser,  
Filosofiske Meddelelser,  
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Selskabet udgiver desuden efter Behov i 4<sup>to</sup> Skrifter med samme  
Underinddeling som i Meddelelser.

Selskabets Adresse: Dantes Plads 35, København V.

Selskabets Kommissionær: *Ejnar Munksgaard*, Nørregade 6,  
København K.

Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab.

Historisk-filologiske Meddelelser. **XXVII**, 3.

# A GRAMMAR OF THE CLASSICAL NEWĀRĪ

BY

HANS JØRGENSEN



KØBENHAVN

EJNAR MUNKSGAARD

1941

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
Preface .....	3
Introduction .....	5
The main Characteristics of the Newārī Language .....	5
The Peculiarities of MS N .....	7
Phonology .....	8
The Sounds of the Newārī Language .....	8
Sound Changes .....	12
Accidence and Syntax .....	16
Nouns .....	16
Form etc. of the Nouns .....	16
Meaning and Use of the Cases .....	21
Pronouns .....	29
Personal Pronouns .....	29
Demonstrative Pronouns .....	32
Reflexive and Reciprocal Pronouns .....	37
Interrogative Pronouns .....	38
Indefinite Pronouns .....	39
Pronominal Adjectives .....	41
Numerals .....	42
Verbs .....	47
Form and Inflection of the Verb .....	47
Conjugation of the Verb .....	55
Auxiliaries .....	57
Meaning and Use of the Verbal Forms .....	59
Auxiliaries and Periphrastic Forms of the Verbs .....	75
Adjectives .....	80
Form of the Adjectives .....	80
Verbal Forms from Adjectival Bases .....	82
Adverbs .....	84
Postpositions .....	89
Nouns with Postpositions .....	89
Verbal Forms with Postpositions .....	91
Conjunctions .....	93
Additional Chapters on Syntax .....	95
Index .....	103

Printed in Denmark.  
 Bianco Lunos Bogtrykkeri A/S.

## PREFACE

The present grammar is a quite independent work, based exclusively on original Newārī manuscripts. Where I have in this way arrived at the same conclusions as my predecessors<sup>1</sup>, they may seem fairly well corroborated; and where my views differ from theirs, I may urge in my favour that I have had access to much more copious materials, and that I have pursued the study of the language for a considerably longer space of time.

It is a descriptive grammar, not a comparative one. I have entirely abstained from references to the cognate languages. On the other hand, it was to a certain degree bound to become a historical grammar, since the manuscripts, on which it is based<sup>2</sup>, range from the fourteenth to the nineteenth century, and the natural changes in the language during this period have to some extent been reflected in them.

<sup>1</sup> For the authorities on Newārī I refer the reader to the list in *Lingu. Survey of India*, vol. III, part 1, p. 215, and to my *Vicitrakarṇi-kāvadānoddhṛta* (Royal Asiatic Society. Oriental Translation Fund. New Series, vol. XXXI), p. 1 f.—Since then I have published: *A Dictionary of the Classical Newārī*. D. Kgl. Danske Vidensk. Selskab. Hist.-fil. Medd. XXIII, 1. 1936.—*Linguistic remarks on the Verb in Newārī*. *Acta Orientalia*, vol. XIV, pp. 280—5.—*Batīsaputrikākathā*. A Newārī recension of the *Simpḥāsanadvā-triṃśatikā*. D. Kgl. Danske Vidensk. Selskab, Hist.-fil. Medd. XXIV, 2. 1939.

<sup>2</sup> See *Dictionary*, introduction pp. 4—6. Instead of MS B (l. c. p. 5) my edition of it is quoted in this grammar.

I have aimed at brevity, and I hope that this has not too much interfered with clearness and completeness. In the introduction I have summed up the characteristic features of the language, and I beg the reader to make himself acquainted with it before turning to the grammar itself.

It is my pleasant duty to offer respectful thanks to the Trustees of the Carlsberg Foundation for financial aid, by which this institution has rendered possible the collection of the materials for the present work and the treatment of it.

Oksbøl Mark, den 17. August 1940.

HANS JØRGENSEN.

## INTRODUCTION

### The main Characteristics of the Newārī Language. — Preliminary Remarks.

The primary roots of the language are monosyllabic.—Compounds are frequent, but derivations are rare.—Inflection is effected by means of suffixes. Those of the verb have to some extent fused with the final consonant of the root; forms like *kañ*, *yāk*, *biwo* and others cannot be analysed from a Newārī point of view.—There are two numbers, singular and plural.—There is no grammatical gender; but the language distinguishes between living beings and inanimate objects by means of generic particles, *-hma* for living beings, and *-gu*, *-guli*, rarely *-gwo*, for inanimate objects. These may be added to adjectives, pronouns, numerals, and the nominal forms of the verb. Moreover nouns denoting inanimate objects are indifferent as to number, and certain case-endings, as e. g. gen. in *-s*, loc. in *-yāke*, are found only with nouns denoting living beings.—The pronoun of the first person has both an exclusive and an inclusive plural.—The higher numbers are counted by tens. The numerals are combined with nouns by means of class-words.—The adjectives are closely related to the verb. There are no forms of degree.

The verb states, that an action takes place. When the action is transitive, the agent is expressed by means of the

agential or instrumental case; when it is intransitive, the pure stem serves as subject. The same form expresses the object or end-point of a transitive action. An example may illustrate this. *rājān dhu syātaṃ* "through the king tiger-killing (took place)"; *rājā wonaṃ* "king-going (took place)"; —or, according to our mode of expression "the king killed the tiger"; "the king went".—There are no personal endings; the different persons, however, as subject or agent in some degree prefer different verbal forms; the 1st and 2nd persons, singular and plural, as opposed to the 3rd person prefer the 1st form in *-o* and the 6th form.—There is no clear distinction of the various tenses, but more so of the aspects and modes of action.—A passive voice does not occur, and would hardly be compatible with the nature of the language. The first of the above examples might as well be understood to mean "the tiger was killed by the king". The indifference of the verb as to voice is evident also from the use of the nominal forms, which, when attributive, may qualify both the subject and the object of an action. E. g. *calā nawo dhu* "the tiger which eats the gazelle" and *dhun nawo calā* "the gazelle which the tiger eats", or "which is eaten by the tiger". The forms A 6 and A 7 are mostly, but not exclusively, used in the latter way; hence their apparently passive character, which is not inherent in them.—Finite forms are rare, but the verb abounds in adverbial and nominal forms. The rather complicate use of the latter may be further illustrated by the following examples. *dhun calā nawo* "the tiger eats the gazelle", *dhun calā nawo thāy* "the place where the tiger eats the gazelle". *dhun calā nawoyā phal* "the result of the tiger's eating the gazelle".

The structure of the sentence is characterized by an

almost total absence of subordinate clauses. Only relative clauses occur.

### The Peculiarities of MS N.

In N, a MS of the Nāradaśmṛti from AD 1699, are found traces of what seems to be a different dialect.—The chief instances are as follows. a (noun). The ending *-san* of the agential, is more frequent than in the other MSS.—b (pronoun). A demonstrative *thwolo* "this", *thwolotā* "all this" only occurs here.—c (verb). The form A 4 has sometimes the endings I *-ṃja*, II *-ca*, III *-ja* besides the usual ones; the form A 8 of I may have the ending *-nd*, *-ṃd* for *-n*; the conditional of the same class *-ṃdasā* for *-nasā*. The conjunctive participles in *-aṇān* and *-kāle* only occur here; likewise the causative in *-kā-ka-l*. Once a causative *seṃjakē* occurs for *sēnakē*.—The form A 5 is more frequently found as nomen actoris, and A 6 as nomen actionis.—For the auxiliaries *da-t*, *kha-t*, *pha-t* are frequently found the alternative forms *dvā-t*, *dā-t*; *phvā-t*, *phā-t*, and, rarely, *khā-t*.—d. For the postposition *sinwoṃ* is used *pēnwoṃ*; for the conjunction *nwoṃ* often *uṃ*.—Other peculiarities have been pointed out in the grammar.



## PHONOLOGY

### The Sounds of the Newārī Language.

- 1 The Newārī MSS are written in the Naipālī or Nāgarī characters. But it seems evident that the phonetic system of the language is only approximately expressed in this way. Not all sounds, represented by the characters used, are found; on the other hand, the language no doubt possesses sounds which are not, or only very imperfectly, expressed in the MSS. From the inconsistencies of the spelling, the modern notes, and MS AH in latin characters (Dict. p. 6) it is to some extent possible to form an idea of the actual phonetic system of the language.

Note. For what follows cf. Conrady's Grammatik ZDMG Bd. XLV, pp. 9—18, and his Wörterbuch, ib. Bd. XLVII, pp. 545 ff.

### 2 Consonants.

*ñ* occurs as an independent sound before vowels: *ñā* "five", *yāñā* "doing".—In some words, where in the younger MSS it may be represented by *ny* or *n*, it seems to denote a kind of palatal nasal. See § 10 c.

Note 1. *ñ* I have found only once before a vowel, V<sup>2</sup>54<sup>b</sup>.4 *kañā* for *kanya* (i. e. *kanē*).

Cerebrals, *ś*, and *ṣ* are not found. In loan-words they are interchangeable with dentals, *s*, and *kh*, and in Ne. words they are sometimes written instead of these letters.

Note. 2. It seems that, at least dialectically, *s* is pronounced *ś* before *i*, *e*, *y*. Cf. Kirckpatrick *sheema* for *simā*, *shenē* for *sēnē*, *sheatō* for *syāto*.

*r* and *l* are freely interchangeable, also in loan-words. The modern notes and AH have only *l* in Ne. words, so this will be the sound actually spoken. A somewhat different sound perhaps occurs where the older MSS have *ḍ*, *d* for *l*, *r*. See § 10 c.

*v*, which in some MSS is not distinguished from *b*, is no doubt really *w*, as it is spelt by Hodgson and in AH.

### Vowels.

3

*a* seems to be the only vowel which is found both short and long. *ī*, *ū* are used in the MSS, but they are freely interchangeable with *i* and *u*, also in loan-words. In AH, where the length of *a* is carefully marked (*ā*), the other vowels never have the mark of length; only *ī* is written initially (*īmā*, *ītā*), where the MSS frequently have *yi* for *i*.

Note. In V<sup>1</sup> one frequently finds *ā* (besides *aṃ*) for *a* before nasals; *a* in this position might be supposed to have a sound differing from that of the usual *a*. On the whole, it seems evident that the difference between *a* and *ā* is not merely one of quantity.

### Diphthongs.

4

*ai* and *au* do not occur in Ne. words; but other diphthongs seem to exist, as may be inferred from the spelling (Conrady, Gramm. p. 11). While many words have an unchangeable *e* and *o* (e. g. *me* "a tongue", *conē* "to sit", *mo-cā* "a child"), in not a few *e* alternates with *ya*, *ye*, and *o* with *va*, or (esp. in V<sup>1</sup> and N) *vo*. Such words are e. g. *thenē*: *thyanē*: *thyenē* "to arrive", *pet*: *pyat* "a belly", *-sen*: *-syān*: *-syen* suffix of the agential; *soya*: *swaya* "to

look", *jonē: jvanē* "to seize", *onē: vanē: vonē* "to go", the suffix *-o: -va: -vo*.

For *e: ya* AH has always *e*, HP 82 mostly *è*, but note *dhunkyè* p. 20<sup>a</sup> for *dhunakē*.—For *o: va* AH has mostly *o* after consonants (so always *tho* "this"), *wa* after vowels, rarely *wo*. In the notes to HP 82 *wo*, *wa* occur, rarely *o* (*thwohmo* "this", *womha* and *wamha* "that", *wono* "went", *wanē* "to go", *khoyē* "to weep". Cf. also Kirckpatrick *soo-ôn* "three" = *so*, *sva*).—I write *ē* and *wo*. *ē* will be a variety of *e* (*ie?*), which cannot be defined more closely, *wo* a diphthong, consisting of *u* and a more obscure vowel (cf. Minayeff *uo*, *ua*, *ue*).

In some of the MSS in Naipālī characters a combination of *o* and *ā* occurs initially and after vowels, where the other MSS have *vā*. In these cases I write *wā* (i. e. *uā*). AH has mostly *woá*. But it is possible, that *vā* has the same sound also after consonants; at least it is worth noticing that *v* is found only before *ā*; and cf. *goálichá* "a heel" AH 41a.

Note. In some words *e: ya* seems to denote a sound like *ō* (Conrady, Wörterbuch p. 556). Cf. also Kirckpatrick *beushé* = *bēsē(m)*, *peumpa* = *pēn-pvāl*.

- 5 According to the foregoing the sounds of Newārī are as follows.

#### Vowels.

*a ā i u e o*. Diphthongs *ē wo wā*.

#### Consonants.

Gutturals	<i>k kh g gh ñ hñ</i>	<i>h</i>
Palatals	<i>c ch j jh (ñ hñ?)</i>	<i>y hy</i>
Dentals	<i>t th d dh n hn s</i>	<i>l hl (l?)</i>
Labials	<i>p ph b bh m hm</i>	<i>v (?)</i>

All vowels may be found with an anusvāra, no doubt denoting a nasalization. It is used in a somewhat irregular way. In *V<sup>1</sup>* it is very frequent; here every vowel has the anusvāra before a nasal (but cf. § 3 note), and it often occurs finally, where the other MSS have no anusvāra.—A final nasalization, though mostly the weakened form of a particle (§ 202), seems to be inherent in some words and suffixes, as e. g. *laṃ* "a road", *siṃ* "wood", *thēm* "as, like", *nwoṃ* "even, also", *-sēm* the suffix of the agential and of the 10th form of the verb. But these words are frequently found without the anusvāra. See also §§ 9. 76. 118. 132 note.

Final *a* and *i*. Modern forms like *khīpa* "rope", *jhangō* "bird", *khvā* "hot" make it highly probable that the words, spelt *khi po ta*, *jham ga la*, *khvā ka* in the MSS, were pronounced *kipot*, *jhamgal*, *khvāk*. So also the endings of the instrumental and locative were *-n* and *-s* (*kipotan*, *lāhātas*; cf. *kipatā* LSI, *lāháté* HP 82), that of the 5th form of the verb *-k* (cf. *jilhā* "proud" AH = *jehlāk*, lit. "saying I"). In a few words and forms, however, where the MS *V<sup>1</sup>* has *-ā*, the final *-a* was no doubt pronounced; e. g. *ana*, *thana*, *gana* "there, here, where", *sala* "a horse", *jeta* "to me" (and so also *-yāta*, the ending of the dative), *cona* "he sat", the 1st form of the verb.

Forms like *pochi* "naked", *chhengoo* "skin", *tmung* "name of a plant" (in AH) for *pwocili*, *cheguli*, *imuni* (or *imun*) seem to prove that a final *i* was silent or only slightly pronounced in some words.

Note. That a final *a* was mostly silent, is corroborated by the few instances where a virāma is found: *śat*, "100" (N 15<sup>b</sup>.2), *ur*, *simā* "figus Indica" (H<sup>3</sup> 52<sup>b</sup>.11), and a few others. Note also *hna shma* "seven" C<sup>2</sup> 299.

- 8 Initial and final Consonants. Initially only single consonants occur, or consonants + *y* or *v* before *ā*. E. g. *ḡyā* "work", *syāya* "to kill"; *kvāk* "hot", *mvāya* "to live". At the end of a word are found only single consonants (*k, t, p, ṇ, n, m, y, l, s*) and in N *nd*, (only in the 8th form of the verb, § 100, 8).

Note. In Ne. words *ks* and *jñ* sometimes occur; but the former stands for *khy* or *ch*, the latter for *gy*.

### Sound Changes.

#### 9 Parallel forms.

*a : e. lanē : lenē* "to wait", *hal : hel* "a leaf", *ṇanē : ṇenē* "to hear".

*a : ā. tanē : tānē* "to vanish" (rarely found, but cf. § 3 note).

*ā : vā* or *yā* (rare). *mālē : mvālē* "to be necessary". *hmā-ca : hmyā-ca* "a daughter".

*i : yi.* Only initially: *itā : yitā*, *imunī : yimunī* "a plant". See § 3.

*s : c. sas : sac* "a sinew", *kwos : kwoc* "a bone".

*c : t. sācān : sātān* "a falcon", *ci-jak : ti-jak* adv. "quiet".

In the causative of verbs of the II. class: *yācakē : yātakē*.

Aspiration of consonants. *ji : jhi* "ten", *kanas : kahnas* "to-morrow", *lvāt : lvāth* "bill of a bird".

Nasalization of vowels. *ēcu : ēṃcu* "bright", *sala, saḡa : saṃla, saṃḡa* "a horse".

Note. In some of these cases we may have to do with forms from different dialects.

#### 10 Older and younger forms. a. Vocalic changes.

*o > a. pot > -pat*, e. g. *kipot > khipat* "a rope". *tole > tale* "as long as", *hmos-khā > hmas-khā* "a peacock".  
*wo > a. nugwoḡ > nugal* "a heart" (on *ḡ > l* see below).

*lamkhwo > lamkha* "water". *nwoṃ > naṃ* "even, also" (less frequently *nuṃ*).

*e > i. je > ji* "I", *me > mi* "fire".

*ē > i. sēya > siya* "to know", *pēya > piya* "to sow".

*o > u. hmoya > hmuya* "to dig", *solē > sulē* "to hide".

*tole > tule, tuti* "a leg".

*wo > u. thwolē > thulē* "to possess", *wo > u* "that".

*a > 0.* Certain forms, like *khamṭi* for *khanati* "a hoe", *twomkē* for *twonakē* "to cause to drink" seem to show that *a* may disappear.

Note. This change, and that of *o, wo > a*, takes place only under certain conditions (in unstressed syllables?).—In certain words, as *me* "a tongue", *dēnē* "to sleep", *conē* "to sit", *jwonē* "to seize" the vowel does not change.

#### b. final consonants.

*k, t, l* are dropped. *malak > mala* "lightning". *lāhāt > lāhā* "a hand", *bāhāl > bāhā* "a shoulder".

Nasals become an anusvāra. *svān > svām* (rare) "a flower". The ending of the instrumental case is sometimes *-ṃ* (e. g. *samudraṃ* H<sup>2</sup> 69<sup>b</sup>.3).

*s, c*, and (only in loan-words) *g > y. sas > say* "a sinew", *hnas > hnay* (Vi) "seven", *tvāc > tvāy* "a friend", *rog > loy* "a disease".

Note 1. In the younger MSS there is a tendency to substitute *m* for other nasals at the end of certain words (e. g. *tutān : tutām* "a stick", *kwolāṇ : kulām* "a granary"). This may be due to the fact that the scribe on account of the said change has become uncertain as to the correct orthography of these words.

Note 2. *ci-bhās* for *ci-bhāy* "a little", which occurs a few times in younger MSS, will be a hyper-correct form.

#### c. other consonantal changes.

*c > y. khvāca > khvāya* "deaf", *lyāca > lyāya* "young".

*d*, *d* > *l*, *r*. *nugwoḍ* > *nugal* “a heart”, *moḍ*, *mod* > *mol* “a head”, *twoḍ-tē* > *twol-tē* “to leave”, *saḍa* > *sala* “a horse”, *dinē* > *linē* “to cut off”.

*ñ* > *w*, 0 before *o*, *u*. *ñoya* > *woya* “mad”. The adjectival ending *-ñu* is in the younger language *-u(ṃ)*: *hyāñu* > *hyāu(ṃ)* “red”, *khiñu* > *khi’u* “dark”.

*ñ* > *ny*, *n* before other vowels (*ny* only before *ā*). *ñā* > *nyā* “a fish”, *ñāya* > *nyāya* “to buy”, *ñiñ* > *niñ* “good, healthy”. The verbal ending *-ñā* becomes in the later language *-nyā*, *nā* (*yānyā*, *yānā*), *-ñ* becomes *-n* (*con*).—In the same way *hñ* > *hny*, *hn*: *hñāya* > *hnyāya* “to move”, *hñeḍ* > *hnel* “sleep”.—A mixed orthography is found: *ñyāya*, *hñyāya*.

Note 1. Owing to the last mentioned change, the younger MSS have not rarely erroneous spellings, such as *coñe*, *coñasā*, *coñakē*.—In a few words, like *ñā* “five”, *ñā* “horn” *ñ* does not change (see § 2).

Note 2. It must be borne in mind that the older forms also occur in the younger MSS besides the younger ones. Some of the latter, especially those showing changes in the final consonants, are on the whole but rarely found.

- 11 Changes due to sentence stress. Some shortened forms, as e. g. *do*, *du*: *dawo*, *tā*: *tayā*, *tē*: *taya* (§§ 110. 112), *ca*, *la*, *ba* for *cā*, *lā*, *bā* (§ 80), *-aṃ* for *-nwom* (§ 202) have no doubt originated in an unstressed position in the sentence. To the same cause must be ascribed the weakening of *daya*, *phaya*, *khaya* from *dvāya*, *phvāya*, *khāya* (§ 110).

## 12 The Form of the Loan-words.

I shall not here exhaust this subject, but shall give merely the main peculiarities of form and spelling in the loan-words from Sanskrit (*tatsamas*).

Epenthesis (*svarabhakti*). *sanān* “a bath” (*snāna*), *śilok* “a verse” (*śloka*), *bisamay* “surprise” (*vismaya*), *byakat*

“manifest” (*vyakta*). Mostly *k* becomes *g* before *t*: *muguti* “release” (*mukti*), *ragat* “blood” (*rakta*).

*r* is frequently omitted after, less frequently before consonants; thus e. g. *pa-*, *pati* for *pra-*, *prati-*. On the other hand, a superfluous *r* is often added before consonants: *śarbd* “a sound” (*śabda*), *ryas* “fame” (*yaśas*).—This *r* is found even in Ne. words: *rjuyuno* “he will become” (V<sup>1</sup> 12<sup>b</sup>.6), *laṃrkḥā* “water” (ib. 32<sup>a</sup>.3), *darttañāva* (note *tt*) “when being” C<sup>2</sup> 84.

Aspiration and loss of aspiration. *jaubhan* “youth” (*yauvana*), *bilambh* “delay” (*vilamba*), *kator* “difficult” (*kathora*), *adik* “very much” (the usual form; *adhika*).

*y* > *j*. *jatn* “exertion” (*yatna*), *saṃjukt* “provided with” (*saṃyukta*).

*k* > *g*. Besides the instances quoted above, *aneg* “many”, the usual form for *aneka*.

Shortened forms. *bac* “a word” (*vacana*), *tap* “austerity” (*tapas*).

More radical changes occur in *suheti* “a friend” (*suhṛd*), *tādasi* “such” (*tādṛśa*).

The sound changes and orthographical variations of the Ne. words, also occur in the loan-words, *jel* (*jala*) “water”, *Hemālaya* (*Hī°*), *opāy* (*upāya*) “a means”, *purṇ* (*pūrṇa*) “full”, *mṛgyandr* (*mṛgendra*) “ruler of animals”, *agyān* (*ajñāna*) “ignorance”, *khyamā* (*kṣamā*) “forbearance”, *pa(ṃ)chi* (*pakṣin*) “a bird”, *sikhy* (*śikṣa*) “a pupil”, *śarid* (*śarīra*) “a body”.

More frequently the correct forms are found, especially in more learned and religious texts (as e. g. in Vi). The form of the loan-words, as found in the MSS, is the outcome of a contest between learned orthography and popular pronunciation.



## ACCIDENCE AND SYNTAX

## NOUNS

## Form of the Nouns.

13 Most primary nouns consist of one syllable, as *kā* "yarn", *me* "fire", *che* "house", *khvāl* "face". Nouns of more than one syllable rarely occur, as *lusi* "a nail", *hmutu* "a mouth", *bhaṭi* "a cat".

14 Nouns may be formed by

a. Reduplication (mostly terms of relationship); as *dadā* "elder brother", *kakā* "paternal uncle", *babā* "father" (besides *bā* and *babu*).

b. Derivation by means of a suffix. Exx. *na-sā* "food" from *na-l* "to eat", *ku-sā* "an umbrella" from *ku-l* "to overshadow", *lā-sā* "a bed" from *lā-l* "to prepare a bed", *gāl-sā* "a fan" from *gāl-* "to fan"; *lvā-pu* "quarrel" from *lvā-t* "to quarrel", and *khwo-bi* "a tear" from *khwo-l* "to weep", the only noun in *-bi*.

c. Composition. Compounds are frequent, most of them are determinative compounds (*tatpuruṣa*).—Examples: *che-khā* "house-door", *chu-pvāl* "mouse-hole", *lu-sikhāl* "gold thread", *sā-dudu* "cow-milk".—Verbal bases may be compounded with nouns: *dē-lāsā* "a couch to sleep upon", *hmo-jyā* "farming".—*cā* "child" forms a kind of diminutive: *nagar-cā* "a small town", *rāni-cā* "a princess".—A characteristic feature is the synonymous compounds, consisting of a Ne. word and a loan-word, which are identical

in meaning: *lā-hāt* "a hand", *pā-li* "a foot", *balā-thu* "an arrow".

Note 1. A good many polysyllables are perhaps nothing but obscured compounds, especially nouns like *hnas-pot* "ear", *hni-pot* "a tail", *añ-gwod* "a wall" (besides *añ*), *khicā* "a dog" and similar words.

Note 2. To some nouns, denoting living beings, especially terms of relationship, may be added *-hma*, apparently without change of meaning.

## Gender.

15

Newārī has no grammatical gender. The natural gender is expressed by means of different words or qualifying affixes. *sā* "a cow", *doha* "a bull", *thwo-sā*: id.; *mes* "a buffalo", *thu-mes* "a buffalo bull"; *bā-cal-khuni* "a male sparrow", *mā-cal-khuni* "a female sparrow", *mā-khicā* "a bitch".

Note. In Aryan loan-words the original generic forms have been preserved, though not always used correctly.

## Number.

16

Nouns, denoting living beings have two numbers, singular and plural; nouns denoting inanimate objects are indifferent as to number. The usual plural endings are *-pani* and *-to*, *-ta*.

a. *-pani* is the usual suffix of loan-words and of adjectives and participles, when used substantively (and of pronouns, see §§ 38.51). *rājā-pani* "kings", *putr-pani* "sons", *coṇ-pani* "those who are sitting". It is less frequently found with pure Ne. words: *kāy-pani* "sons", *jhaṃgal-pani* "birds".

b. *-to*, *-ta* is the usual suffix of Ne. words: *močāto* "children", *misāto* "women", *salato* "horses". In rare cases it is added to loan-words: *mājhito* "ferry-men" (H<sup>2</sup> 99b.3).

c. Rarely, and mostly in younger MSS, are loan-words like *jan*, *gaṇ*, *lok* used as suffixes of the plural, even *-lok-pani*, as *jan-lok-pani* "people" B 118. 15.

d. Where it is necessary, to mark the plural of nouns denoting inanimate objects, words like *dakwo*, *samast*, *sakalē* "all", *aneg* "many" are added.

Note 1. The modern form *-pim* for *-pani* is found in a few instances.—Plural forms of words, denoting inanimate objects, are very rare. B 86.5 has *lvaham-cā-to* "pebbles".

- 17 The plural may have the meaning "and companion(s)", as *Damanak-pani-syam* H<sup>2</sup> 60<sup>a</sup>.3 "Damanaka and his companion (colleague)", *thva kanyā-pani* B 88. 25 "this girl and her companions".—In a few instances *-pani* is used as a term of respect: *Raghupatan-pani* "Laghupatana" (H<sup>2</sup> 47<sup>a</sup>.5).

The plural ending is wanting where plurality is expressed in other ways; thus always after numerals, and mostly after nouns denoting "many, all".

#### Cases.

- 18 The following cases are found: Nominative, Agential, Genitive, Dative, Locative, Ablative, Instrumental, Sociative, Directive.—The case endings of nouns denoting living beings differ to some extent from those of nouns denoting inanimate objects.

1. Nominative. This case has no ending, but represents the pure stem.

2. Agential. Formed only from nouns denoting living beings. The ending is *-sēm*, *-sēn*. *-sēm* is the older form; the *n* of *-sēn* may be due to analogy; the instrumental in *-n* frequently takes the place of the agential.—A few instances of *-san* are found.

3. Genitive. In the singular the usual ending is *-yā*; in the plural the ending is always *-s* (*-panis*; *-tas*, *-tos*). Nouns denoting living beings may take *-s* also in the singular (rarely *-sayā*); as e. g. *rājās* H<sup>2</sup> 55<sup>a</sup>.8, *candramās* H<sup>2</sup> 78<sup>a</sup>.2, *brāhmaṇas* C<sup>2</sup> 101 = *brāhmaṇayā* C<sup>1</sup>.

4. Dative. The ending is *-ta*, added to the genitive (*-yā-ta*, *-s-ta*). In the singular *-sta* is rarely found, e. g. *rājāsta* C<sup>1</sup> 69.—A few instances of *-yātan* occur, especially in N.

5. Locative. Nouns denoting living beings, have the ending *-ke*, added to the genitive (*-yā-ke*, *-s-ke*, *-sa-ke*). Other nouns have *-s* (see § 7).

6. Ablative. The ending is *-yāken*.

7. Instrumental. The ending is *-n* (cf. §§ 7. 10 b).

8. Sociative. The ending is *-wo*; in a few cases it is added to the genitive (*-yā-wo*, *-sa-wo*). In the plural the ending is *-panisawo*.

9. Directive. Nouns denoting living beings, take the ending *-twom*, those denoting inanimate objects mostly *-to(m)*, *-ta*. The younger MSS have a few instances of *-tu*.

The ablative, instrumental, and directive do not occur in the plural. From the plural in *-to* only an agential and a genitive is formed.

Nouns ending in a consonant have *a* before case endings 19 beginning with a consonant. The *m*, which is found at the end of some nouns (see § 6) is mostly dropped before case endings, but not always, cf. e. g. *dahamṇyā* "of a lake" H<sup>2</sup> 77<sup>a</sup>.5, *lvahams* "on a stone" B 134. 25.

#### Table of Declension.

1. Singular. *che* "a house", *lāhāt* "a hand", *rājā* "a king".

Nom.	<i>che</i>	<i>lāhāt</i>	<i>rājā</i>
Agent.			<i>rājāsēm, -sēn, -san</i>
Gen.	<i>cheyā</i>	<i>lāhātayā</i>	<i>rājāyā, rājās</i>
Dat.	<i>(cheyāta)</i>	<i>lāhātayāta</i>	<i>rājāyāta, rājāsta</i>
Loc.	<i>ches</i>	<i>lāhātas</i>	<i>rājāyāke, rājāsake</i>
Abl.	<i>(cheyāken)</i>	<i>(lāhātayāken)</i>	<i>(rājāyāken)</i>
Instr.	<i>chen</i>	<i>lāhātan</i>	<i>rājān</i>
Soc.	<i>chewo</i>	<i>lāhātawo</i>	<i>rājāwo, rājāsawo</i>
Dir.	<i>(cheto, -ta)</i>	<i>(lāhātato, -ta)</i>	<i>rājātowoṃ</i>

2. Plural. *rājāpani* “kings”. *misāto, -ta* “women”.

Nom.	<i>rājāpani</i>	<i>misāto, -ta</i>
Agent.	<i>rājāpanisēm, -panisēn</i>	<i>misātasēm, -tosēm; -tasēn, -tosēn</i>
Gen.	<i>rājāpanis</i>	<i>misātas, -tos</i>
Dat.	<i>rājāpanista</i>	
Loc.	<i>rājāpanisake</i>	
Soc.	<i>rājāpanisawo</i>	

- 21 Remarks. In the pl. *-to* is preferred in the nominative, *-ta* before case-endings.—A few instances occur of a gen. pl. in *-pani*, and accordingly a dative and locative in *-panita* and *-panike*.—The following irregular forms of the instrum. may be noted: *na’unīnin*, *na’unīnan* from *na’uni* “the wife of a barber”, *lawotininan* from *lawotini* “a low-caste woman”, *rākṣasinan*, *rākṣasīninan* from *rākṣasī* “an ogress”, all of them in B.—To the agential, the locative in *-s*, and the instrumental the particle *-aṃ* is frequently added, especially in the younger MSS.

- 22 To the above mentioned cases may be added a deferential vocative in *-s*; *bho rājās* “Oh king!” (H<sup>1</sup> 86<sup>b</sup>.4). Tatsamas may preserve the Sanskrit vocative ending: *he sakhe* “O friend!”; *rājan* is frequent in the younger MSS.

Note. Occasionally other Sanskrit endings are found, as e.g. *deśe grāme nagare* Vi 49.14 “in a region, in a village, in a town”.

### Meaning and Use of the Cases.

The Nominative, or perhaps better Casus indefinitus, 23 is used.

a. for the subject of intransitive verbs. *thva Bikramāditi rājā thava rājy vanam* B 107.4 “king Vikramāditya went to his kingdom”.

b. for the object of transitive verbs. *āmo dhu jin mocake dhuno* B 24.15 “I have killed this tiger”.—The following verbs are transitive in Newārī: *kanē* “to tell”, *kenē* “to show”, *bhramalapē* “to roam about in”, *ādeś biya* “to give an order to”, *cintā yāya* “to take care of”, and others.

c. as an Accusative of effect. *chān ama rājahaṃs rājā yāto* H<sup>2</sup> 75<sup>b</sup>.1f. “why did you make this flamingo a king?”

d. as an Essivus. *kutani cha-hma dayakāo. dut chotaṃ* Ś147<sup>a</sup>.2 “they procured a procuress, and sent her as a messenger”.

e. as an Accusativus modalis. *hmutu jukva cāku* Bh 54<sup>b</sup>.3 “sweet only as to the face”. *jim-ni ku byā* B 20.5f. “twelve cubits wide”.

f. to denote time and space. *jim-ne dor da tapasyā yāhāva* Bh \*11<sup>a</sup>.5 “performing austerities during twelve thousand years”. *cibhāy bu vañāo* H<sup>1</sup> 77<sup>a</sup>.4 “having gone some way”.

g. as an Allative. *Rabanadvip vañāva* Bh 8<sup>b</sup>.7 “having gone to Rāvaṇadvīpa”.—Here, however, mostly the Locative is used.

h. in cases like *bā bāya* “to divide into parts” (cognate object).

- 24 The Agential is used for the subject (or agent) of transitive verbs. It is used not only with the *verbum finitum*, but also with the other verbal forms. As the Instrumental frequently takes the place of the Agential, it will be dealt with here, when used in this sense.—Examples: *thathe rājāsyaṃ ājñā biyāva* H<sup>1</sup> 90<sup>a</sup>.2 “when the king had said so...”. *jīn svāmin doh yāk-gulī chuṃ ma khañā* Vi 43.6 “I do not see that (my) husband has committed any crime”. *rāni-cān kva sol vayāva* B 130.19 “the princess went to look down, and...” (see below § 205). *jen bhasm rakṣā ma yātasā. chan gathe mvācake* V<sup>2</sup> 17<sup>b</sup>.3 “unless I had guarded her ashes, how would you have revived her?”

- 25 A causative may take two Agentials, as mostly both the agent of the causative and that of the simplex is expressed by this case. *thva rājā-cān thva thāyas sipayipānisen thāy thāyas piyakāo tayāo* Ś 155<sup>b</sup>.2 “when the prince at this place everywhere had placed soldiers as guards” (lit. “had caused s. to guard”). *padāpya ma salasā. gurunam pada-pyake* P 62<sup>a</sup>.6 “when he cannot read himself, (he) may let the guru read”.

Note. But also *sarppayāta dudu tvaṇakusāṃ* H<sup>2</sup> 74<sup>b</sup>.5 “even if one makes a serpent drink milk”.

- 26 The Genitive may be

a. possessive. *jhaṃgalayā che* B 59.30 “the nest of the bird”. *moṇātoṣ kos* H<sup>1</sup> 42<sup>a</sup>.5 “the bones of the young ones”. *mantriya kāy* B 28.7 “the minister’s son”.

b. subjective. *ṣicāyāken bhatiyā bhay* H<sup>2</sup> 103<sup>a</sup>.6 “the cat’s fear of the dog”.

c. objective. *oyā bilahan* V<sup>1</sup> 10<sup>b</sup>.2 “through the longing for her”. *dhanayā lobh* “greed for riches”. *dhuyā bhay*

B 111.2 “fear of a tiger”. *mis ādin* N 39<sup>b</sup>.2 “dependence on the husband”.

d. descriptive. *nānā prakārayā śastr* “weapons of many kinds”. *ṣu lāyā karm* P 3<sup>a</sup>.6 “ceremonies lasting six months”.

e. partitive. *uḷ ḍākinīs cha-hma* V<sup>1</sup> 21<sup>b</sup>.1 “one of these ḍākinīs” (note the singular!).

f. Genitivus generis. *luyā sikhāl* H<sup>3</sup> 34<sup>b</sup>.11 “a golden string” (= *lu-siṣāl* H<sup>2</sup> 65<sup>b</sup>.5). *mayā bhaṇḍār* M 4<sup>a</sup>.5 “an iron vessel”.

g. the Genitive is used with verbs. With *daya* it denotes “to have, to possess”. *thva baniyāyā ekaputrī dava* B 19.16 “this merchant had one daughter”. *rājāyā svatā guṇ dayu* C<sup>2</sup> 67 “a king will have three virtues”. (*daya* may be wanting; *oyā strī pe-hmā* V<sup>1</sup> 110<sup>a</sup>.3 “he had three wives”).—With *juya* it denotes “to become the property of”. *rājy dhan saṃpatti. thva brāhmaṇayā julo* B 27.20 “the kingdom and the treasures have become the property of this brahman”. Metaphor. *pakṣipānis ahaṃkār juyāo coṇā* H<sup>2</sup> 74<sup>b</sup>.4 “the birds had become haughty”.—It is used, though rarely, with verbal expressions like *parikṣā yāya* “to investigate into”, *nirūp yāya* “to examine”.

h. But frequently the Genitive is found with verbs and verbal expressions in the following way: *barakhunīs robh vañāva* H<sup>1</sup> 13<sup>b</sup>.4 “the pigeons became greedy, and...”. *debīyā manas alyant kop yāñāo* Vi 53.18 “the goddess became very angry in her mind, and...”. *kuṭinīyā hneḍan cāyāva* H<sup>3</sup> 33<sup>b</sup>.10 “the procuress woke from her sleep, and...”. *thwo Nidhan gr̥hapatiyā manas bhāraparam* Vi 106.12 “the householder Nidhana thought in his mind”. *siṃhayā pya-tyānāva* H<sup>3</sup> 35<sup>b</sup>.2 “the lion having become hungry...”. *thva sabarayā jhāyāva* H<sup>1</sup> 94<sup>b</sup>.2 “the savage grew tired, and...”. In the last examples the genitive plainly is used



for the subject. Cf. also Vi 87.3 f. "*thwopani ni-hmasayāṃ* *thathiṇa aiśvary lāta* "these two have obtained such splendour".

i. Finally the Genitive may be used as a derived noun: *thao cheyā-pani* P 60<sup>b</sup>.1 "his housemates".

## 27 The Dative is used

a. as an indirect object with verbs and verbal expressions like *biya* "to give", *lawo hlāya* "to entrust to", *dhāya* "to say to", *nvāya* "to blame", *sebā yāya* "to render a service", *krodh yāya* "to be angry with", *bibāhā yāya* "to arrange a marriage for".

Note. *bibāhā yāya* "to marry" takes a direct object, *sebā yāya* "to be a servant to, to be in the service of" the locative.

b. less frequently, and mostly in the later language, as a direct object. *thva na'uyāta sāsti yāya teṇā belas* B 98.3 "when he was going to punish the barber". *chal-polayāta syānāva. chal-polayā dakva rājy kāya* M 21<sup>a</sup>.4 "I shall kill you, and take your whole kingdom".

c. it may have the meaning "for, for the purpose of, to the advantage of". *cheta kā-huna* V<sup>2</sup> 74<sup>a</sup>.2 "take for you!" *nirogīyāta auśadhīyā chu prayojan* H<sup>2</sup> 12<sup>b</sup>.5 "what is the use of medicine for a healthy one". *jetam strī su juyiva* V<sup>1</sup> 28<sup>a</sup>.5 "who will become wife to me?" *jhaḥḥesta gāk* H<sup>1</sup> 86<sup>a</sup>.5 "sufficient for us".

d. in rare instances it is used as an Allative: *rājāyāta vanam* B 113.7 "he went to the king".

## 28 The Locative is used

a. as a locative proper (Adessive, Inessive). *rājaghalas khuya thāku* B 77.12 "it is difficult to steal in the king's palace". *tādato pumīyāke con* V<sup>2</sup> 36<sup>a</sup>.6 "for a long time

she lives with her husband". Also metaphor. *āpadās* "in times of distress".

b. Verbs, like *kāya* "to take", *khuya* "to steal", *senē* "to learn", *phonē* "to beg", *nenē* "to ask" are in Newārī constructed with the Locative. *rājāyāke belā phoṇāva* B 113.29 "asking leave of the king". *misake bitt kāya* N 41<sup>b</sup>.3 "to take property from a man".

c. it is used as an Allative. *asaṃkhy rājāpanike dut choyāva* M 9<sup>b</sup>.3 "sending messengers to innumerable kings". *pvārasam du hāra* H<sup>1</sup> 80<sup>a</sup>.5 "(the mouse) went into its hole". *mantriya ches vanam* V<sup>2</sup> 47<sup>a</sup>.3 "he went to the house of the minister".

d. it may denote time. *rātris* "in the night", *gvachinam belas* "at some time".

e. in rare cases it has the meaning of a Dative. *rājāyāke swapn bilam* V<sup>2</sup> 60<sup>a</sup>.4 "he gave a dream to the king". *thavake hīlan hlāk* H<sup>1</sup> 46<sup>b</sup>.2 "speaking for the benefit of himself".

f. it is used with verbs like *abhyās yāya* "to study", *udyam yāya* "to apply oneself to", *jojalapē* "to appoint to", *bhok puya* "to do reverence to", *sesēm taya* "to commit to one's charge", *śocan yāya* "to mourn for".—*lawo hlāya* "to hand over to" takes the Locative of nouns denoting inanimate objects, but the Dative of those denoting living beings (cf. above § 27 a): *cāndālayā lāhātis lao hlāṇāo bio* Vi 42.7 "deliver him into the hands of the Caṇḍālas".—*hlāya* "to say to" mostly takes the Locative.

g. miscellaneous instances of the Locative. *chanake coṇ ka'uli* B 117.18 "the cowries, which are in your possession". *garbhas daya* "to be gravid". *khvālas dāya* "to beat in the face". *thava biśvāsas coṇ-hma* H<sup>2</sup> 68<sup>a</sup>.2 "living in reliance on me". *ji strīdharmas coṇāo coṇā* Vi 45.27 "I live according to the duty of women".—*mikhās khobhi pvāpal yāṇāo* Vi 176.1 "filling her eyes with tears".

h. the Locative may be used as a partitive genitive: *jī bos chi bo* N 21<sup>a</sup>.7 “one part out of ten”.

## 29 The Ablative is used

a. as an Ablative proper. *thwo-guli tej mebayāken ola ma khu* Vi 90.13 “this splendour came from nobody else”. *ākāśan meghayāken jarabr̥ṣṭi juyāva co* Bh \*12<sup>a</sup>.1 “from the sky, from the clouds the rain was coming”.

b. to denote the cause or reason why. *lobhayāken* “from greed”. *je puṇyayāken* H<sup>1</sup> 70<sup>b</sup>.1 “on account of my merits”.

c. in a few instances as a Locative. *kumitrayāken biśvās ma du* C<sup>1</sup> 297 “there is no reliance on a false friend”.

Note. But mostly the instrumental is used for the ablative (§ 30 d, e, f).

## 30 The Instrumental is used

a. to denote the instrument of an action. *khicā cha-hma sikhalan ciñāva* B 83.3 f. “tying a dog with a rope”. *tvāthan kvātu kvāñhāo* H<sup>2</sup> 76<sup>a</sup>.8 “pecking vehemently with their beaks”. *samastam balabant juyuvam dhanan* H<sup>1</sup> 64<sup>b</sup>.4 “everyone becomes powerful through riches”.

b. as a Prosecutivus. *meba-gū lanam boñāva* B 111.7 “leading him another way”.

c. to denote state and condition. *mṛg bera began* H<sup>1</sup> 49<sup>a</sup>.2 “the gazelle escaped in a hurry”. *chu khvālan thava che vane* B 97.14 “with what kind of a face will (you) go to your home?” *sukhan conē* “to live in happiness”.

d. to denote the starting-point (Ablative). *pvāran pi-hā vayāva* H<sup>1</sup> 26<sup>a</sup>.2 “coming out of his hole”. *jī paradesān vayā* B 119.12 “I come from a foreign country”.

e. to denote the cause and reason, why. *lobhan* “from greed”. *ajñānan* “from ignorance”.

f. to denote the terminus a quo. *thanin hnas hnu* V<sup>2</sup>

34<sup>a</sup>.1 “seven days from to day”. *ṣu cān* P 59<sup>b</sup>.7 “after the lapse of six nights”.

g. in the following instances: *julan buya* “to lose at play”. *bisyaṃ takon lu daṃja* N 38<sup>b</sup>.4 “to be content with what is given”. *prajñān chu prayojan* C<sup>2</sup> 23 “what is the use of knowledge?” *dāman nāya* B 119.17 “to buy with money”. With the words *saṃpann*, *saṃjukt* “provided with”, *saṃtuṣṭ* “content with”, *pvāpal* “full of”, and the like.

h. the Instrumental as Agential see §§ 24. 25.

The Sociative has the meaning “with, together with”. 31 *lithya. mantrīpanisava samadhāl yātaṃ* V<sup>2</sup> 33<sup>b</sup>.1 “afterwards he held a conference with his ministers”.—It is used with verbs like *toya* “to be in accordance with”, *sambandh yāya* “to have intercourse with”, *lisēm wonē* “to keep up with” and similar verbs. Also with *biruddh* “objectionable to” (V<sup>1</sup> 57<sup>a</sup>.3: *lokavo birurddh* “objectionable to people), *sam* and *tuly* “like”, e. g. *chuva sam juro* H<sup>1</sup> 64<sup>b</sup>.5 “he became like a mouse”.

Mostly we find a double sociative. *Padmābatiya Maṇi-* 32 *cūḍavo nī-hma* M 28<sup>b</sup>.8 “both Padmāvatī and Maṇicūḍa”. *miva misāva conāñās* H<sup>2</sup> 37<sup>b</sup>.2 “when husband and wife are together”. *nayuva nasāva prīti yāya* H<sup>1</sup> 33<sup>a</sup>.3 f. “to form a friendship between eater and food”. *putrava mītrava tuly bhārapaṃ* C<sup>1</sup> 21 “considering the son like a friend”. *guruva. śiṣyayāva antal-aṃ* ib. 255 “the difference between teacher and pupil”.

The Directive seems originally to have had the meaning 33 of an Allative: *śrī Mahādebatvaṃ bi-jyāñāva* B 80.31 f. “repairing to Mahādava”; but with nouns denoting living beings it mostly has the meaning of a Dative. *rājāsyaṃ Biṣṇusarmātoṃ ... rājaputr-pani rava hlāraṃ* H<sup>1</sup> 10<sup>b</sup>.2 “the

king entrusted the princess to the care of Viṣṇuśarman". It may also denote a direct object: *Kṛṣṇasyaṃ Nandatvaṃ boṇāva* Bh 40<sup>b</sup>.4 "as Kṛṣṇa had fetched Nanda". The form *-tu* is mostly found with *dhyābalapē* "to think of", *swoya* "to regard, to look at".

- 34 With nouns denoting inanimate objects, the Directive is used as follows:

a. of place "up to, as far as". *gal-potato vas-lunum* B 106.2 "when he had gone (into the river) up to his neck". *dvālato teṇ beras* V<sup>2</sup> 27<sup>a</sup>.6 "coming up to the door". *yojan chi bhūtvaṃ yañāva* Bh 13<sup>a</sup>.3 "having led him as far as one mile".

b. of time "for, till the end of, during". *nā dato* "during five years". *gva belato. je. thava svāmī mvāta. thva belataṃ jem mvāk* H<sup>2</sup> 81<sup>b</sup>.6 "as long as my husband was alive, I too was alive" (lit. "for what time...").

Note. It must be said, however, that one may be in doubt as to whether *-twoṃ* etc. is a case-ending and not a post-position; cf. N 53<sup>a</sup>. 4 *dāyen thaṃ. syāya-ṭoṃ* "from beating to killing".

- 35 Double Cases. A case ending may be added to another case. *rāṇiyāva jiva. dharman jukva siyīva* B 113.14 "the righteousness of the queen and of me will know it". *thva ne-hmasyaṃ dhāra. kokhava mṛgavasyaṃ* "these two said, the crow and the gazelle" H<sup>1</sup> 93<sup>b</sup>.4. *rātrisayā bṛttānt-kha* V<sup>1</sup> 38<sup>b</sup>.4 "the events of the night" (lit. "of in the night").

Note. *-yāwo* may also be the ending of the simple sociative, cf. *śiṣyayāva* § 32.

- 36 Place of Case ending.

In complex expressions (noun with apposition or attribute), and mostly in enumerations the case ending is

found only once. *ji svāmi Bikramadatt baniyān chu aparādh gāta* Vi 45.23 "what wrong has my husband, the merchant Vikramadatta done". *mām babun* "father and mother" (instrum.).—But *debayā. brāhmaṇayā. rājāyā. thvates bitt* N 41<sup>b</sup>.8 "the property of (each of) these, (of) a god, a brahman, and a king".

## PRONOUNS

### Personal Pronouns.

These are *je, ji; ja* "I"; *che, chi; cha* "thou"; *wo, u* 37 "he, she, it".—*cha* "thou" is used in addressing inferiors or equals, *che, chi* in addressing superiors. *ja* "I" is rarely found, and does not differ in meaning from *je, ji*. (*ji, chi, u* are later forms).

The Plural of these pronouns, with the exception of 38 *che, chi*, is mostly formed by adding *-pani*. *je-pani, ji-pani; ja-pani* "we"; *cha-pani* "you"; *wo-pani, u-pani* "they".—Less frequently, and mostly in the later language, are found plurals in *-mi* from *ji, chi*, and in a few instances *che*. For the third person there occurs in a few cases a plural *a-mi*. These plurals are never used in the nominative.

Usually *che, chi* form their plural by means of suffixes, 39 derived from Sa. *sakala* "all". The following forms are found: *che-sakal, chi-sakal; che-skal, chi-skal; che-kal, chi-kal*. To some of these forms *-pani* may be added: *che-kal-pani; chi-sakal-pani, chi-skal-pani, chi-kal-pani*. Whereas these forms from *che* always have the meaning of a plural, the forms from *chi* are mostly used as deferential forms of the singular (cf. § 47 note).

- 40 The plurals in *-pani* and *-mi* of the 1st person are exclusive plurals “I and he, I and they”.

The inclusive plural of the 1st person “I and thou, I and you” shows a great variety of forms. *jhaje*, *jheje*, *jhiji*—*jhejhe*, *jhijhi*—*jeje*—*cha-je*, *che-je*, *chi-ji*—*je-che*, *ji-chi*.—The commonest forms are *jhaje* etc., *cha-je* etc. *jeje* and *je-che* etc. are rarely found; *jhijhi* is fairly frequent in B, *jhaje* is found only in H<sup>1</sup>.—*cha-je* etc. and *je-che* etc. are no doubt new formations, meaning simply “you and I, I and you” (cf. instrum. *jen chen*).

#### Declension of Personal Pronouns.

- 41 Singular.

Nom.	<i>ja. je; ji</i>	<i>cha. che; chi</i>	<i>wo; u</i>
Agent.		<i>chisēn</i>	
Gen.	<i>ja, jan. je; ji</i>	<i>chan. che, ches; chi</i>	<i>woyā, wos</i>
Dat.	<i>jata. jeta; jita</i>	<i>chanata. cheta; chita</i>	<i>woyāta</i>
Loc.	<i>jeke; jike</i>	<i>chanake. cheke; chike</i>	<i>woyāke</i>
Instr.	<i>jan. jen; jin</i>	<i>chan. chen; chin</i>	<i>won; un</i>
Soc.	<i>jawo. jowo; jiwo</i>	<i>chawo. chewo; chiwo</i>	<i>wowo</i>

- 42 Remarks. The genitive forms *jan*, *ches*, *wos*, (and *wosayā*) are rarely found. In the later language there occur genitives in *-gu*, *-guli*. Before *sinwom*, *sinam* “more than” is found a genitive *jeyā* H<sup>1</sup> 57<sup>a</sup>.1 = H<sup>2</sup> 35<sup>b</sup>.5 = *jitayā* H<sup>3</sup> 13<sup>a</sup>.5.—Note that the base of *cha* is *chan* in all oblique cases except the sociative; a modern form *chamta* = *chanata* occurs in M 12<sup>b</sup>.1.—*u* is rarely found.

- 43 Plural in *-pani*, *-mi*. The plurals in *-pani* are regular, only the genitive without an ending is more frequent here than with nouns; *ji-pani-gu* “our” occurs in H<sup>2</sup> 74<sup>a</sup>.7.—Of the plural in *-mi* the following forms are found:

Agent.	<i>jimisēn</i>	<i>chimisēn</i>	<i>chemisēn</i>	<i>amisēn</i>
Gen.	<i>jimis, jimi</i>	<i>chimis, chimi</i>		<i>ami</i>
Dat.	<i>jimita</i>			

Plural in *-sakala*. This plural is somewhat irregular; 44 the following forms are found:

Agent.	<i>che-sakalasēm, che-skalasēm; chi-skalasēn, chi-skal-panisēn</i>
Gen.	<i>che-sakalas, che-skalas, che-skalayā, che-kalayā; chi-skalayā, chi-kalayā</i>
Dat.	<i>chi-skalayāta</i>
Loc.	<i>che-skalasake, chi-skalayāke</i>

For the Nominative see § 39.

The inclusive plural of the 1st person

45

Nom.	<i>jhaje</i>	<i>jheje</i>	<i>jhejhe</i>	<i>jhiji</i>	<i>jhijhi</i>	<i>jeje</i>
Agent.	<i>jhajesēm</i>	<i>jhejesēm</i>		<i>jhijisēm</i>		
Gen.	<i>jhajes</i>			<i>jhiji, jhijis</i>	<i>jhijhi, jhijhis</i>	<i>jejes</i>
Dat.	<i>jhajesta</i>	<i>jhejhesta,</i>		<i>jhijhista</i>		
		<i>[-sata]</i>				
Soc.				<i>jhijisawo</i>		

Nom.	<i>cheje</i>	<i>chaje</i>	<i>chiji</i>	<i>jeche</i>	<i>jichi</i>
Agent.	<i>chejesēm, -sēn</i>		<i>chijisēm</i>		<i>jichisēm</i>
Gen.	<i>chejes</i>		<i>chijis, chiji</i>		
Loc.	<i>chejesake</i>			<i>jecheke</i>	
Instr.		<i>chajen</i>		<i>jen-chen</i>	

Examples. *jen Gandharb-bibāhā yāñān. je jula* V<sup>2</sup> 52<sup>b</sup>.5 46 “because I have contracted a Gandharva-marriage, she has become mine”. *chisen duḥkh sirasā. jin-am duḥkh siya* Vi 105.30 “are you suffering misery, I too shall suffer misery” (wife to husband). *chanata jin tor-te icchā yāya dhuno ib.* 106.2 f. “I have formed a wish to get rid of you” (husband



to wife). *chi-gu guṇ* H<sup>3</sup> 9<sup>b</sup>.4 “your virtue”. *os moḍ joḥāva* Bh 50<sup>b</sup>.3 “seizing his head”. *chan japanīstaṃ bās biya māl* V<sup>1</sup> 11<sup>b</sup>.5 “you must give us shelter”. *thvan jhajes. pās. phekiva* H<sup>1</sup> 25<sup>a</sup>.3 f. “this one will tear asunder our snare”. *jimis rājā* “our king”. *che-skarasava mitr yāya. yāyā* H<sup>1</sup> 81<sup>a</sup>.2 “(I) want to form a friendship with you”. *chi-skarpanisen. chu kha hlāṇāo diyā* Vi 22.22 f. “what word are you saying?” (wife to husband).

Note. The pronoun of the 3rd person is also used as a demonstrative pronoun. See § 54.

- 47 Honorific pronouns are *chal-pol* for the second, and *wos-pol* for the third person. They are inflected as follows.

Nom.	<i>chal-pol</i>	<i>wos-pol</i>
Agent.	<i>chal-polasēm, -polasēn</i>	
Gen.	<i>chal-polas, -polayā</i>	<i>wos-polas, -polayā</i>
Dat.	<i>chal-polasta, -polayāta</i>	
Loc.	<i>chal-polasake, -polaske</i>	
Instr.	<i>chal-polan</i>	<i>wos-polan</i>

In the younger MSS *chal-pol-pani* is also found, but with the meaning of a singular.

Note. The plurals of *cha*, *che* and esp. *chi* may also be used as honorific forms of the singular.

- 48 The genitive of the personal pronouns is used as a possessive pronoun. *je mitr* “my friend”. *chan svāmiyāke hūni* V<sup>2</sup> 45<sup>b</sup>.1 “go to your husband”. *oyā babu* “his father”.—Further examples in § 46.

### Demonstrative Pronouns.

- 49 The bases are *thwo*, *thu*; *tha*. *wo*, *u*; *a*. The forms with an initial *th* are demonstratives referring to a nearer object,

those with an initial vowel refer to a remoter object. These bases are used either alone, or with derivative suffixes (*-le*, *-li*, *-thi*, *-lo*, *-to*).—The demonstratives are used both as pronouns and as adjectives. When used as adjectives, they do not change for case and number.

*thwo*, *thu*. “this”. The usual demonstrative of the nearer 50 object.—The generic particles *-hma* and *-gu*, *-guli* (see introduction) may be added without change of meaning. In the younger MSS these forms become more frequent.—The younger form *thu* is rarely found, *thu-gu* and *thu-guli* more frequently than the simple form (*thu-hma* does not occur at all).

An honorific form *thwos-pol* is found in a few instances: *thvas-polayā kalāt* B 26.31 “the wife of this one (i. e. the king)”.

Note. *thwo* is mostly spelt *thva*, *tho* is very rarely met with.

The declension is regular; e. g. Agent. *thwosēm*, *thwo-* 51 *sēn*. When the pronoun refers to living beings, a genitive *thwos* is found now and again, once *thwosayā*. On the ablative *thwoyān* see § 186.—The suffix of the plural is always *-pani*.

Note. *thwos* seems to occur as a nominative, cf. H<sup>2</sup> 35<sup>b</sup>.5 *thos pujalape jogy* “he is worthy of being honoured”.

When used as an adjective, the meaning of *thwo* (*thwo-* 52 *hma*, *thwo-guli*) may become so attenuated, that it does not differ much from that of a definite article, though the demonstrative force is always perceptible.—*thwo* is commonly used after enumerations, as *kokha. kāpare. carā. chu. thva pya-hmasyaṃ* H<sup>1</sup> 11<sup>b</sup>.5 “the crow, the tortoise, the gazelle, the mouse, these four...”. It may resume a

sentence: *lyāṣya hmaṣamō jyāth pusami... āliṇṇaṇ yāñā. thvayā helu ma daya ma phuva* ib. 51<sup>b</sup>.1 ff. instead of ... *yāñāyā helu* ... "there must be a reason for a young wife embracing an old husband".

Note. Like the other simple demonstratives *thwo* may be used as a pronoun of the 3rd person. *thvayā sukh* "his luck" (H<sup>1</sup> 66<sup>b</sup>.3).

53 *tha* = *thwo* is but rarely found. *tha kupas* V<sup>2</sup> 21<sup>a</sup>.1 "in this well" = *thva kūpas* V<sup>1</sup> 32<sup>a</sup>.3.—*tha-gu* also occurs.

54 *wo*, *u* (= pers. pron. 3rd pers.) "that". The usual demonstrative of the remoter object. *o yāya thva yāya ma sesyaṇ* Bh 47<sup>a</sup>.4 "not knowing (whether) to do that or to do this". -*hma*, -*gu*, -*guli* may be added. *o-hma kumāl* Ś 160<sup>b</sup>.6 "that youth"; *o-guyā kāran* Vi 137.4 "the cause of that".—The later form *u* is rarely found, but see § 56.

55 *a* is found in a few instances with the meaning of *wo*. But the enlarged form *amo*, *ama*, or later *āma*, *āmo* is mostly used.—The following cases are found: Genitive *amoyā* etc., Instrum. *āmon*, Sociat. *amova*. There is no plural.

It is a general demonstrative, sometimes with the secondary meaning "the person or thing just mentioned" or "in question". *āmo rājā chan mitr ma khu* B 141.21 f. "this king is not your friend". *āmayā nirṇay gathya* H<sup>3</sup> 42<sup>a</sup>.11 "what is the settlement of the affair in question".

56 *u* "the same" (perhaps the same word as *u* § 54). *u-gu thās* "to the same place".—For the construction cf. *rājāyā u kvathās tayāva* B 84.28 "placing (her) in the same room as that of the king". *thamabo u jāti* N 131<sup>b</sup>.1 "of the same caste as herself".

Note. Cf. the expression *u lāya* "to be alike", lit. "to reach the same, to amount to the same".—With nouns *u* forms a kind of possessive compound (*bahuvrīhi*) *u-nugoḍ juyā* N 49<sup>b</sup>.4 "let us unite"; lit. "... become of the same heart".

### Demonstratives with Derivative Suffixes.

*thwole*, rarely *thwoti*, *thwota*; later *thuti*, rarely *thute*. 57

A demonstrative which as a rule refers to what has just been mentioned, and mostly to a plurality of objects. Therefore it is the usual pronoun after enumerations.—The following cases are found: Agent. *thwotesēn*, Genit. *thwoteyā*, *thwotes* (*thutiyā*, *thutis*), Instr. *thwoten* (*thutin*), Sociat. *thwotesawo*, Loc. *thwotes* (*thutis*, *thutiyāke*).—Examples. *thvate rājāyā bacan neñāva* V<sup>2</sup> 67<sup>b</sup>.6 f. "having heard this (just quoted) word of the king" (not "the word of this king"; *thwote* as an adjective is never connected with nouns denoting living beings). *mām baub kalāt thvatesao saṃmat yāñāo* Vi 176.3 f. "having taken counsel with these persons: his parents and his wife". *thvates* "in these (just enumerated) circumstances" (C<sup>2</sup> 9 = *thutis* C<sup>1</sup>).

To *thwote* may be added a suffix -*tā* (*thwotetā*, *thwotitā*) giving to it the meaning "all this, all these"; and referring to inanimate objects only.

*uti*, and (only in N) *ute* "the same". *yāñā kāryy sidha- lasā. uti phal-aṇ lāyuvā* H<sup>2</sup> 15<sup>b</sup>.1 f. "if they succeed in what they have attempted, they will receive the same reward".

In the sense of "the same as, like, alike", *uti* is constructed with the sociative. *thva maṇikayā kiraṇ śrī sūryyayā kiraṇava uti jusyaṇ coṇ* M 3<sup>b</sup>.8 "the rays of this ruby were like the rays of the sun". *duo. byāo uti juyāo* Vi 51.3 "being alike in length and width".

Note. *ute dhāre* "in equal shares" (N 37<sup>b</sup>.7).

59 The suffix *li* (rarely *le*) forms quantitative demonstratives. They are *thwoli* (rarely *thwole*; later form *thuli*); *woli*, more frequently *uli*, in N also *ule*; *āma-li* (in younger MSS only, and always with a long initial *ā-*); all of them denoting "so much, so many".—To these forms may be added a suffix *-to*, *-ta* without change of meaning; *āma-lito*, *-lita* are more frequent than the simple *āma-li*. From *thwoli* are derived other enlarged forms, as *thwoli-ma-chi* (also *thuli-ma-chi*) "so much", and the rare form *thwoli-tete* (also written *thwole-teti*, *thwole-titi*) "so many".—Examples. *thuli dhāyāo* Vi 63.32 "having said so much". *chan āma-lito kṛpā datañās. je paramānand juro* Ś 165<sup>a</sup>.1 f. "since you have so much mercy, I am beside myself with joy". *thvales* "of so many" (H<sup>2</sup> 19<sup>b</sup>.2 = *thvaltetes* H<sup>1</sup> 27<sup>b</sup>.1).

60 The suffix *-thi-* forms qualitative demonstratives.—It seems that originally it had the form *-thiñ*, when used alone, and *-thi(ṇ)* before other suffixes (*-hma* etc.).

1. *thathiñ*, later *thathiṇ* "someone or something like this". More frequent forms are *thathiṇ-hma*, *thathiṇ-gwo* (note *-gwo* for *-gu*); rare forms are *thathiñ-hma*, *thathiñ-gu*, and also *thathiṇ-gu*.—Examples. *thathiṇhava gathya biṣvās ma chārā* H<sup>1</sup> 16<sup>a</sup>.3 "how should I not venture a friendship with someone like this = *thathiṇ-hmayāke gathya biṣvās ma chālā* H<sup>2</sup> 11<sup>b</sup>.2 f. *thvayā thathiṇ-gva sariḍan. pi rāto. jhajesta ... gāk* H<sup>1</sup> 86<sup>a</sup>.4 f. "such a body as his is sufficient for us for four months". *thathiṇ-gū bastuk* P 6<sup>b</sup>.7 "such objects".—A plural is found P 49<sup>a</sup>.6 *thathi-pani* "such people".

2. *amathiṇ*, *amathiṇ-gwo* and *āmathiñ*, *āmathiṇ-gwo*, *-gu*, *-guli* seem to be used only of inanimate objects "something like that". *āmathiṇ-gū svān* B 33.31 "such a flower".

*amathiṇ-gva hlāya ma tele* H<sup>2</sup> 97<sup>a</sup>.4 "you must not say such things".

3. *uthiṇ*, *uthiṇ-gwo* "the same", "of the same kind". *thamabo uthiṇ-gva jāti strī* N 34<sup>a</sup>.7 "a wife from the same caste as himself".—Not frequent.

4. Rare forms are *thwothiñ*, *thwothiṇ-gwo*; *athiṇ*, *athiñ*, *athiṇ-gwo*, of the same meaning as 1.

Note 1. The form *thathiṇ-gwo-hma* really consists of two words "someone (*gwo-hma*) like this (*thathiṇ*)".

Note 2. There are a few occurrences of *-thē-* for *-thi-*: *thathyañ u ratn juyiva* B 17.25 "this jewel will be something like that".

Note 3. On 1 as adverb see § 186.

The suffixes *-lo* and *-to* are but rarely found. We find 61 *thwolo* "this", *thwoloto* "all this, all these", *thvalatā padārth* N 45<sup>a</sup>.5 "the following objects"; *thwoto* "this".

### Reflexive and Reciprocal Pronouns.

*thawo* is the reflexive pronoun for all persons. The 62 following cases occur

Gen.	<i>thawo</i> ; <i>thawokeyā</i> (N)	Loc.	<i>thawoke</i>
Dat.	<i>thawota</i>	Abl.	<i>thawoken</i>

Examples. *thava putr-pani. sāstr ma sava bhārapaṇ* H<sup>1</sup> 4<sup>a</sup>.3 "reflecting that his sons did not know the *sāstras*". *āvayā thavake biṣvās yācake* ib. 34<sup>a</sup>.3 "now I will make them trust me". *hñāthyam je murkh juyāva. thavata ayogy bastu. āsā yāñāva sañā* Bh 141<sup>a</sup>.6 f. "formerly being a fool, I longed for things that were beneath me".—*thawo* may also mean "own": *je. thava. svāmī* H<sup>2</sup> 81<sup>b</sup>.6 "my own husband".—It is never used as an object; in this position its place is taken by the following word.

- 63 *thama* "self". *thaman yāñā karmayā phal thaman-am bhog yāñāo julam* Vi 127.1 f. "a man will have to taste himself the fruits of the deeds he himself has done".—As object: *thamam hnāpā. sīk lipā tayāva vanam* B 113.30 "he went along, placing himself at the head, the dead body in the rear".

Note. *thowo* and *thwoma* are in a few cases found for *thawo* and *thama*.

- 64 *thethe*, younger *thithi*, is the reciprocal pronoun. *thethe ghas puñāva* H<sup>2</sup> 22<sup>b</sup>.2 "embracing each other". *thithim khvāl svayāva* B 55.28 "looking into the face of each other".—Even an agential is found: *thithimsyanam. je sā thva-hma dhakam. kacār juyāva* Bh 155<sup>a</sup>.4 "a quarrel having arisen, each saying to the other, it is my cow".

The loan-word *anyonyan* is found, too; and the combinations *thithi anyonyan*, *thithi paraspar*; mostly in the younger MSS.

### Interrogative Pronouns.

- 65 There are different words for living beings and for inanimate objects; *su* "who?", *chu* "what?".—Besides these we find *gwo*, *gu* "which?", and forms from the base *ga*-.—Used substantivally the interrogatives are placed at the end of a sentence immediately before the verb. They are also used as relative pronouns, see § 207.

- 66 *su* "who?"—The following cases are found

Nom.	<i>su</i>	Dat.	<i>suyāta, suta (?)</i>
Agent.	<i>sunān</i>	Loc.	<i>suyāke</i>
Gen.	<i>suyā</i>	Soc.	<i>suwo</i>

Note the unusual form of the agential. *suta* is perhaps an error. A plural occurs B 29.5: *su-pani khe* "who are

they?"—Examples. *thva kanyā su* V<sup>1</sup> 10<sup>b</sup>.3 "who is this girl?"; *thva rājyegā bhārā sunān-am kāyio* Ś 168<sup>a</sup>.6 "who will take upon himself the burden of this kingdom?"; used adjectivally: *su mocālasyanam tyā chita* B 18.28 "what boys have decided it?"

*chu* (in H<sup>1</sup> also *cho*) "what?". Used adjectivally "what 67 a..., what kind of...", found also with living beings: *chu kalāt* B 132.4 "what kind of a wife".—The only cases found are *chuyā*, *chuyāta* in the sence of "why?, what for?".

*gwo*, *gu* "what, which?"—Mostly with *-hma*, *-gu*, *-guli*. 68 —*gva belas* M 30<sup>a</sup>.8 "at what time?" *chan puruṣ gva-hma* Ś 149<sup>b</sup>.3 "which is your husband?" *gu-gu prakāran* Vi 18.16 "in which manner?".

With suffixes. a. *gwote*, *gute* "which". Only in N, and always as a relative pronoun.—b. *gwolito*; *gulito*, *-ta* "how much? how many?" *sandhiyā prakār gvalito* H<sup>2</sup> 115<sup>a</sup>.7 "how many kinds of peace are found?". In Vi *gulita*, *-to* mostly has the meaning "which?".—c. *gwolo*, *gwola-hma*, *gwoloto*, *gwolato* with the same meaning as b.

Note. Combinations of two interrogatives occur, as *gadhas. sunān. gva-hman mi tala* H<sup>2</sup> 99<sup>a</sup>.3 "who has set fire to the fortress?"

*ga*- is only found with the suffix *-thi*-. *gathiñ*; *gathiñ-* 69 *hma*, *-gwo*, *-gu* "what kind of". *gathiñ-gva thāy* H<sup>1</sup> 54<sup>b</sup>.4 "what kind of place?"—Before adjectives "how": *gathiñ jī bhāgy* Vi 29.1 "how fortunate I am!".

### Indefinite Pronouns.

The interrogatives are used as indefinite pronouns either 70 alone, or more frequently with suffixes. The suffixes are



-*nwoṃ* (younger -*naṃ*, less frequently -*nuṃ*), and the weakened form -*aṃ* (cf. § 202). They are added either immediately to the base or to an intermediate -*chi*- or -*khi*-.—When the interrogatives alone are used as indefinite pronouns, the suffix -*nwoṃ* etc. is frequently added to other words in the sentence.—In connection with *ma* “not” the indefinite pronouns signify “no, none, nothing”.

71 1. *su* forms *su-nwoṃ* etc., *su-chi-nwoṃ* etc. “someone, anyone”.—In *Ś* there occur *sunāṇ*, *sunuṇ*.

2. *cho*, *chu* forms *chu-nwoṃ* etc. and *cho-khi-nwoṃ* etc. “something, anything”. (Conrady Gramm. p. 23 has *chu-chinaṃ*).

3. *gwo*, *gu*. The following forms are found: *gwo-hmaṃ*, *gwo-chi-naṃ*, *gu-chi-naṃ* “some, any”. More frequent are *gwoḷiṃ*, *guliṃ*, and especially *guli-chi-nwoṃ* etc.; mostly in the sense of “some, any”, less frequently with the (original) meaning “some or any quantity of”.

72 Of cases there occur

Agent.	<i>sunān-aṃ</i> ; <i>gwo-hmasēn-aṃ</i> , <i>guli-chisēn-aṃ</i>
Gen.	<i>suyā-ṃ</i> , <i>suyā-noṃ</i> Dat. <i>suyāta-naṃ</i> , <i>su-chiyāta</i>
Instr.	<i>gwo-hman-aṃ</i> Soc. <i>suwo-ṃ</i>

73 Examples. *suyāṃ svabhāb mur* H<sup>1</sup> 19<sup>a</sup>.2 “the character of anyone is the main thing”. *meb sunān-aṃ ma tvoṇ-gu laṃkha* Vi 35.3 f. “water nobody else drinks”. *cho upāyan-aṃ sebarape māl* H<sup>2</sup> 51<sup>b</sup>.6 “one must honour him in any way”. *cho yatn yāṃṇa-noṃ* N 2<sup>a</sup>.7 “making any effort”. *gwo belas-aṃ* ... *ma* means “never”. *gu-chinaṃ* ... *guri-chinaṃ* ... *gva-chinaṃ* Bh 55<sup>a</sup>.2 ff. “some ..., some ..., some ...”. Frequently *gvachinaṃ cha-guli nagaras* “in a certain town”.

The numerals for “one” as Indefinite Pronouns. 74

The forms *cha-naṃ*, *cha-num*, *cha-ṃ*; *chi-naṃ* occur in a few instances, mostly in connection with *ma*: *jita ādhār mebatā cha-num ma du* Vi 51.30 “I have no other support”.—Frequently we find *chatā(ṃ)* (also *chatā-naṃ*, *chatāṇ*) ... *ma* meaning “nothing”. *thvateyā hun. chatā dhāyaṃ ma chārā* V<sup>2</sup> 74<sup>b</sup>.1 “therefore I dare say nothing”. *rātrīs. chatāṃ khane ma du* V<sup>1</sup> 95<sup>b</sup>.6 “nothing can be seen in the night”.—See also § 80.

#### Indefinite Relatives.

75

“whoever, whatever, whichever” is expressed by means of *gwona* (Instr. *gwonan*) and *gwona-khu* (-*hma*). Also by duplicating the relative pronoun; see § 217.

#### Pronominal Adjectives.

*dakwo* (less frequently *dayā*) “all, whole”; mostly after 76 the noun. Cases: Agent. *dakwosēn*, Gen. *dakwos*, *dakwosayā*.

*sakalē*, *sakal*, and *samast* are the usual words for “all”.

When occurring alone or after a noun, they have the forms *sakalēṃ*, *samastāṃ*.—Cases: Agent. *sakalasēn*, *sakalasan* (N); *samastasēn*. Gen. *sakalasaṃ*, *sakalasaṃyāṃ*; *samastayāṃ*. In the later language shortened forms are found, Gen. *sakasyā*, Agent. *sakasēnaṃ*.—*sakal-tāṃ* (later *saka-tāṃ*) means “all, whole”, and is used of inanimate objects only.

*tapaṃ* “all, whole”; always after the noun, which takes the suffix -*n* (or -*ṃ*): *bayan tapaṃ* N 19<sup>a</sup>.3 “all expenses”. *rājyaṃ tapaṃ* Ś 156<sup>a</sup>.4 “the whole kingdom”.

*aneg* (rarely *anek*), *nānā* “many”.—*bhatī*, *ci-bhāy* “some, a little”.—*tal* “more”; *hmō* “less”.—*ādi(n)*, *ādipaṃ* “and others” (always after the noun).

*meba, mebu* "other"; *-hma* may be added. *mel-hma* (rare) id.—*mebatā, mebutā* of inanimate objects only.

*jukwo* "only" is an adjective in Newārī; cf. *bacan-mātr jukvan* H<sup>2</sup> 78<sup>b</sup>.6 "merely through a word".

On "each" see § 217 c.

## NUMERALS

77 The numbers are counted by Tens.—Generally the same forms are used for cardinals as well as for ordinals.—The numerals are

1 <i>cha; chi</i>	9 <i>gu</i>	50 <i>ñaya</i>
2 <i>nē, ni</i>	10 <i>ji, jhi</i>	60 <i>khuya</i>
3 <i>swom</i>	11 <i>jim-cha</i>	70 <i>hnaya</i>
4 <i>pē, pi</i>	12 <i>jim-nē, -ni</i>	80 <i>caya</i>
5 <i>ñā</i>	20 <i>niya</i>	90 <i>guya</i>
6 <i>khu</i>	21 <i>niya cha</i>	100 <i>sat-chi, sal-chi</i>
7 <i>hnas</i>	30 <i>suya</i>	200 <i>nē sat</i>
8 <i>cyā</i>	40 <i>piya</i>	1000 <i>dwol-chi</i>

78 *ni, pi, sal-chi* are later forms. For 100 also *sa-chi* (*sa-cchi*) and even *sla-chi* is found. *jhi* is perhaps a dialectal form. On *cha, chi* see below.—*sat* "100" without *chi* is found in a few cases before nouns, *sat hasti* V<sup>1</sup> 78<sup>b</sup>.1 "a hundred elephants" = *hasti sat-chi* V<sup>2</sup> 49<sup>a</sup>.1.—500 is *ña sal*. For 100 000 there occurs the loan-word *lak, lakh, lakṣ*: *jim-cyā rak* Ś 168<sup>b</sup>.3 "1 800 000".—In composition with other numerals *sat-chi* and *dwol* are put in the sociative; *sa-chiba niya ñā* V<sup>2</sup> 27<sup>a</sup>.1 "125"; *jim-ṣu dolava sat-chiba cyā-hma* Bh 185<sup>a</sup>.1 "16 108".

79 The simple numerals are placed before the noun; *nya mocā* Bh 106<sup>a</sup>.6 "two children"; but they are rarely found.

Much more frequently they take the suffixes *-hma, -guli, -lā*, or are combined with class-words (see § 82. 83).

The numerals for "one". *cha* is used with class-words and with *-hma, -guli*; *chi* is found after *sat, dwol, lakṣ*, and after words like *kāl* "time", *bāl, hni* "day" (also *gojan chi* "one mile"), and after *cā* "a night", *lā* "a month", *bā* "a half", which in this case are shortened to *ca, la, ba* (cf. § 11).

*cha* is used frequently in the sense "some, a certain", or with a meaning not differing essentially from that of an indefinite article; then always in the form *cha-hma, cha-guli*. *mṛg cha-hma rāñāva* H<sup>1</sup> 72<sup>b</sup>.4 "having caught a gazelle". *cha-gulī sthānas. Kāñcanapurī nām nagar. cha-gurī dasēm coñ* Vi 16.26 "in a (certain) region was a town, called K".—Used substantively *cha-hma, cha-guli* means "someone, something"; with *ma* "nothing" (see also § 74).—*cha-hma* may mean "alone, only". *ji cha-hma* "I alone", *putr cha cha-hma* "one only son".

## Declension of the Numerals.

81

As the simple numerals are used before nouns only, we are merely concerned with the inflection of the forms with *-hma* and *-guli*, of which *-hma* shows some peculiarities:

Agent. <i>-hmasēm, -hmasēn</i>	Loc. <i>-hmayāke</i>
Gen. <i>-hmayā, -hmasayā, -hmas</i>	Instr. <i>-hman</i>
Dat. <i>-hmayāla</i>	Soc. <i>-hmasawo</i>

*-hmas* only occurs as a partitive genitive. Ś 165<sup>a</sup>.3 occurs a dative *ni-hmastayāta*.

## Class-words.

82

The most frequent are the following.

*gwol* (older *gwoḍ*) for round or bulky objects. *ratn swa gvaḍ* V<sup>2</sup> 67<sup>a</sup>.7 "three jewels"; *ghaṃṭ cha gvaḍ* H<sup>2</sup> 59<sup>b</sup>.1 "a bell".—Metaph. *ni gol ākhal* P 24<sup>a</sup>.3 "two syllables".

*pā* for parts of the body or ornaments, found by pairs. *ne pā tuti* C<sup>1</sup> 231 "two legs".—Also *ṣu pā hnas-pot* H<sup>2</sup> 83<sup>b</sup>.2 "six ears".

*pā(m)ti id. mikhā ni pāṃti* M 33<sup>a</sup>.2 "two eyes".

*mā* for trees. *simā cha mā* H<sup>1</sup> 12<sup>a</sup>.3 "a tree".

*pu* for objects of a longish shape. *sa cha pu* B 131.4 "a hair". *gā cha puṃ* V<sup>2</sup> 8<sup>b</sup>.3 "a cloak". *ślok ni pun* H<sup>1</sup> 3<sup>b</sup>.1 "with two verses".

*ca, la* (cf. § 7 a) are used as class-words in *cā ca chi* B 76.23 "one night". *mās la chi* Vi 58.28 "one month".

Note also instances like *da jhi da* Vi 123.10 "ten years", *cāk cha cākan* H<sup>1</sup> 6<sup>b</sup>.1 "with one wheel".

83 The suffixes *-hma, -guli, -tā*, though no real class-words, are used in much the same way.

1. *-hma* is used with great frequency for living beings. *brāhmaṇ-pani swa-hma* V<sup>2</sup> 17<sup>b</sup>.1 "three brahmans". *mes cyā-hma* Ś 151<sup>b</sup>.6 "eight buffaloes". *thva-pani ne-hma* "these two".

2. *-guli* is rarely found, except in *cha-guli* (§ 80). It refers by preference to large objects, like sea, town and the like. *pe-guri samudr* C<sup>1</sup> 293 "four oceans". Note *ñā-guli mikhā* "five eyes" Nā 14<sup>a</sup>.1.

3. *-tā* is used by preference of abstract ideas, and after enumerations of objects which would require different class-words. *khu-tā dokh* H<sup>1</sup> 23<sup>a</sup>.3 "six faults". *cha-tā gaṇ* C<sup>1</sup> 21 "one virtue". *mām. babu. thava svabhāb. thva swa-tā* H<sup>1</sup> 24<sup>b</sup>.5 "mother, father, his own nature, these three".—But also *pya-tā tisā* "four ornaments" B 66.18.

Note. *nē-hma, ni-hma; nē-guli, ni-guli* may mean "both"; *ni-guli* also "a pair".—In instances like *rājā mantri ni-hmasēnam* Vi 50.3 f. the meaning is something like "both the king and the minister".—On *cha-tā* as an indef. pron. see § 74.

In connection with numerals nouns rarely take a plural 84 ending (an ex. § 83,1), but pronouns are rarely found without. *thva-pani swo-hma* "these three". *cha-pani ne-hma* "you two".

### Ordinals.

85

As stated above (§ 77) the ordinary numerals are mostly used as ordinals also. *ra chiyā* Bh 8<sup>a</sup>.7 "of the first month". *swa-guli paṭal* P 11<sup>b</sup>.2 "the third hell".—But in connection with nouns denoting living beings special ordinals are formed by means of *-hma-hma*. *ne-hma-hma Indra* H<sup>2</sup> 74<sup>b</sup>.2 "a second Indra". *ñā-hma-hma brāhmaṇ* M 8<sup>b</sup>.6 "a fifth brahman".

Note. Words like *hiawo, hūāpā, ādi* may be used to denote "the first".

### Rarer forms.

86

a. Fractions. A few instances are found in N. *pyaṃ bos chi bo* 2<sup>a</sup>.5 "a fourth part" (lit. "one part out of four").

b. Distributiva. Formed by means of duplication *chi chi-guḍi rāṣṭras* N 50<sup>a</sup>.2 "in each realm". *ni-hma ni-khe vane* B 35.15 "we will both go each in his direction". *pe hnu hnu* (spelt *hnu2s*) "once in four days" (Vd 19<sup>a</sup>.6).

### Other numerical Derivatives.

87

a. *-dē(n), -bol* (rare) "fold". *buddhi juraṃ mi-janayā pe-dya* H<sup>2</sup> 65<sup>b</sup>.2 "(her) cunning is four times that of a man".

b. *-bāl, -pol, -hnaṃ* "time". *śat-chi-bār* Vi 84.24 "a hundred times". *swa-pol* "thrice". *cha-polan* "all at once" (Vi 118.15). *cha-hnaṃ* "once" N 31<sup>b</sup>.7.

c. *-tārin(am)*. *cha-tārinam* H<sup>2</sup> 16<sup>b</sup>.6 f. "all at once" (only example).

d. *-khē*. *cha-khē* "aside, apart". *pe-khem* "in four directions" (B 59.31).

e. *-bhin*. only *cha-bhin* "aside, apart".

f. Dubious is *-te* in *ne-te sva-te* "thrice or thrice (?)". Vd 36<sup>a</sup>.5.

- 88 Finally we may mention the words *bā* "a half", *tyā* "a half added", *dugan-chi* (also *dugam-*, *dugun-*, *dugn-*, *dugon-* (N)) "double".—For *bā* which is always placed before the noun, is mostly found *ba chi*, which usually comes after the noun. For *dugan-chi* there occurs in a few instances the tatsama *dvigun*.—Examples: *bā lā* H<sup>3</sup> 27<sup>a</sup>.6 "half a month". *thava. āyu. ba chī biyāva* V<sup>1</sup> 93<sup>b</sup>.1 "giving half his life time". *gomūtrayām ba chī gomay* P 65<sup>a</sup>.6 f. "half as much cowdung as cow-urine".—*ra tyās* H<sup>1</sup> 49<sup>b</sup>.1 "in a month and a half".—*misājanayā āhār mi-janayā dugan-chi* H<sup>2</sup> 65<sup>b</sup>.2 "the nourishment of a woman is twice as much as that of a man".

- 89 Some numerical expressions of time. *hni hni chiyā* H<sup>2</sup> 49<sup>b</sup>.7 "every day".—*pi lāto* ib. 45<sup>b</sup>.5 "during four months".—*sva cā pya hnuto* B 34.11 "three days and nights" (= *Sa. trirāṣṭra*).—*cha hnu amtar* Vd 19<sup>a</sup>.5 "every other day".—*khu rān hñā* H<sup>1</sup> 9<sup>b</sup>.5 "within six months".—*sva dan lithan* V<sup>2</sup> 64<sup>b</sup>.7 "after a lapse of three years".—*thanin pē hnu* Vi 82.5 "four days from to-day".—*jim-khu dayā taruṇi* B 33.27 "sixteen years old".—*hnas da dava-hma bārak* Bh 36<sup>b</sup>.1 "a seven years old boy".—*pe-hma. cyā-hma lok* Ś 160<sup>a</sup>.1 "seven, eight people" (lit. four, eight p.).

Note. With numerals the word for "day" is mostly *hnu*, instead of *hni*.

## VERBS

### Form and Inflection of the Verb.

Newārī verbs are of three kinds, primary verbs, verbal 90 phrases, and derivatives. The primary verbs are all of Ne. origin, the verbal phrases only in part; there is only one genuine derivative form, the causative; the denominatives are all derived from loan-words.

#### Primary verbs.

91

They have monosyllabic roots with a final consonant, which in most verbs appears in some of the forms only, whereas in the others it has been amalgamated with the suffix that follows. According to these consonants, the primary verbs can be divided into four classes, the first three having an unstable consonant, the fourth retaining its consonant through all forms. (On a 5th class see § 96).

I. Class. Verbs in *-n*. *ka-n* "to tell", *da-n* "to rise", *ti-n* "to put", *pu-n* "to cover", *ñe-n* "to ask", *sē-n* "to learn", *ho-n* "to join together", *jwo-n* "to seize".

II. Class. Verbs in *-t*. *gyā-t* "to fear", *yā-t* "to do", *si-t* "to die", *phu-t* "to perish", *be-t* "to pass away", *co-t* "to write".

III. Class. Verbs in an unstable *-l*. *na-l* "to eat", *ha-l* "to bring", *kā-l* "to take", *tā-l* "to perceive", *ti-l* "to adorn oneself", *bi-l* "to give", *bu-l* "to be borne", *bē-l* "to fly", *swo-l* "to regard".

IV. Class. Verbs in an unchangeable *-l*. *chāl-* "to like", *hīl-* "to change", *sul-* "to hide", *hñel-* "to laugh".

Note 1. Roots with *ā* are not found in the first class (instances like *tā-n*: *ta-n* "to vanish" are merely orthographical variants. See § 9). In the II. class *-a-* does not occur, but *-ā-* is frequent. Verbs of the IV. class are comparatively rare. On *da-t*, *pha-t*, *kha-t* see § 110 c.

Note 2. There are some irregularities, and, in the later language, fluctuations between the classes (mostly III:IV, less frequently II:III). See § 108.

## 92 Verbal phrases. They are of two kinds.

a. preverbs + primary root. *ghas pu-n* "to embrace", *cat ka-n* "to blossom out", *cat phu-n* "to tear asunder", *lap chyā-t* id., *tok dhul-* "to be broken", *tok pu-l* "to cover", *bhok pu-l* "to bend down", *lawo hlā-t* "to hand over", *lu ma-n* "to remember", *lol ma-n* "to forget". —The preverbs are found only in this connection.

b. loan-words with the Ne. verbs *ju-l* "to become", *yā-t* "to do", *cā-l* "to awake" (rarely *ta-l* "to do", *da-t* "to be"). *garjay yā-t* "to thunder", *jīlay yā-t* "to conquer", *jāgart yā-t* "to keep watch", *jāgart ju-l* "to awake" (also *jāgart dayaka-l* "to awaken"), *mocan yā-t* "to destroy", *mocan ju-l* "to perish"; *śocanā yā-t* "to be sorry, to lament"; *cā-l* is found only with nouns denoting a state of mind, and expresses getting into this state: *tam cā-l* "to become angry", *bismay cā-l* "to become astonished" ("to be astonished" is *bismay yā-t*).

Note. Verbal phrases of the form b may be used as terms of respect: *bhojan yā-t* "to eat" for *na-l*; *prahār yā-l* "to beat" for *dā-l*, *darśan yā-t* "to see" for *swo-l* etc.

## 93 Derivatives.

Denominatives are derived from loan-words (mostly the present base of a Sanskrit verb), by means of the suffix *-pa-l* with an intermediate *-la-*. *ninda-la-pa-l* "to blame", *cinta-la-pa-l* "to think", *jāya-la-pa-l* "to be borne", *bhukta-la-pa-l* "to enjoy", *kṣamā-la-pa-l* "to agree to". —In a few words the *-la-* is wanting: *paṭa-pa-l* "to read", *yinā-pa-l* "to speak".

The suffix of the Causative is *-ka-l*. Before it, the 94 base of verbs of the I. class mostly ends in *-na*, of the II. class in *-ca*, less frequently *-ta* (§ 9), of the III. class in *-ya*, of the IV. class in *-la*. I *khana-ka-l* from *kha-n* "to see", *twona-ka-l* from *two-n* "to drink". II *yāca-ka-l* or *yāta-ka-l* from *yā-t* "to do", *puca-ka-l* from *pu-t* "to burn". III *biya-ka-l* from *bi-l* "to give", *kāyā-ka-l* from *kā-l* "to take". IV *pula-ka-l* from *pul-* "to pay".

Note. In N there occurs one instance of *seṃja-ka-l* (12<sup>a</sup>.3) for *sēna-ka-l* from *sē-n* "to teach".

Less frequently the Causative is formed in the follow- 95 ing way.

a. the suffix is added directly to the root. *yā-ka-l* (besides *yācaka-l*, *yātaka-l* § 94), *co-ka-l* (besides *coca-ka-l*) from *co-t* "to write", *ha-ka-l* (besides *hayaka-l*) from *ha-l* "to bring". *na-ka-l* from *na-l* "to eat". Note *twom-ka-l* from *two-n* (cf. § 94). —All these forms seem to belong to the later language.

b. in N only is found the suffix *-kā-ka-l*. *khā-kā-ka-l* from *khā-t* "to cut", *de-kā-ka-l* (besides *de-ka-l*) from *de-n* "to cut off", *jīya-kā-ka-l* (besides *jīya-ka-l*) from *ji-l* "to be able".

Note. Traces are found of an older way of forming the causative, by aspirating the initial consonant of the root. *gyā-t* "to be afraid": *khyā-l* "to frighten", *da-n* "to rise": *tha-n* "to arouse" etc.

The Denominatives and Causatives form a V. Class of 96 verbs. In this class must be included compound verbs like *tā-tha-l* "to leave behind", *twol-ta-l* "to abandon", *bho-pa-l* "to eat", *sal-ta-l* "to call" and others, which are actually verbal phrases, the elements of which have lost their inde-



pendence.—This class was no doubt originally identical with the III. class, but most of the forms from the short base have been weakened or contracted.

- 97 The Causative of (the non-causative) verbs of this class has usually the form *-ya-ka-l*. *jāyalapa-ya-ka-l* “to cause to be borne”. Other forms are found, as *phalalapa-ka-l* “to cause to bear fruit” (C<sup>2</sup> 93), *bho-pē-ka-l* “to give to eat” (V<sup>2</sup> 47<sup>a</sup>.4), *chedarapā-ka-l* “to cause to cut off” (N 51<sup>b</sup>.2).

#### The Inflection of the Verb.

- 98 The inflection of the Newārī verb is characterized by the preponderance of nominal and adverbial forms, and the scarcity of finite forms. (See Introduction).
- 99 For the purpose of inflection we can distinguish two bases, a shorter and a longer one. As examples may be chosen I *ka-n: kana-* “to tell”, II *yā-t: yāta-* “to do”, III *bi-l: bila-* “to give”, IV *māl: māla-* “to seek”, V *naka-l: nakala-* “to cause to eat”.

From the short base are derived twelve forms (A 1—12), from the long base seven (B 1—7). In addition we find some forms (C 1—8), which are formed by a close combination of the root, less frequently a verbal form, and an originally independent word, mostly an adverb.

Note. I have desisted from naming the single forms, but have been content to designate them by letters and numbers, giving parenthetically approximative terms by way of explanation.

- 100 A. Forms from the short base (*ka-n*, *yā-t*, *bi-l*, *māl*, *naka-l*).

1 (a finite verb). The endings are I *-naṃ*, II *-taṃ*, III *-laṃ*, IV, V id. Under certain conditions (see § 118) *-a* or *-o* appears for *-aṃ*, rarely *-ā*. On *-e* see § 110.

2 (an imperative). I *-ṇo*, *-ṇa*. *-wo*, II *-wo*, III *-wo*, IV (wanting), V *-i*, *-iwo*, *-ine*, *-ina*. In I *-ṇo* is the old form, *-ṇa* (also spelt *-na*) is later (cf. § 10 a). The analogical formation *-wo* becomes the usual form in the later language.—The usual form in V is *-iwo* (*tā-thiwo* “leave!”).

An other ending, *-yo*, is found in the defective imperatives *wāyo* “come!”, *nuyo* (also *nuya*) “let us”, *nāyo* “take!”.

3 (a habitative). I *-ni*, II, III *-yu*, *-yi*, IV *-li*, V *-i*. To these endings may be added *-wo* and *-no* (younger MSS have a few cases of *-na*, rarely *-ne*); on the meaning see §§ 121. 122.

*-yu*: *-yi* are alternative forms, in the younger MSS *-yi* becomes somewhat more frequent, and is there sometimes spelt *-i* (*vaṭva* B 130. 29).—For I *-ni* *-nyu* (H<sup>1</sup>, N) and *-nayu* (N) occur now and then. In V fuller endings may occur, e. g. *mocakayūva* Bh 51<sup>a</sup>.2 for the usual *mocakiwo*. In V<sup>1</sup> there are a few instances of *-wono* for *-no* (e. g. 43<sup>b</sup>.5 *moyuono*).

Note 1. In some more dubious instances there seems to be an ending *-u*, *-uo* for V. An example see § 206 (*tol-tu*).

Note 2. The *-i* and *-u* of these forms are very frequently spelt *-ī*. *-ā*.

4 (a gerundive or infinitive). I *-nē*, II, III *-ya*, IV *-lē*, V *-ē*. In N there occur the alternative forms I *-ṃja*, II *-ca*, III *-ja* (*kaṃja* “to tell” = *kanē*, *hlāca* “to speak” = *hlāya*, *seja* “to know” = *seya*).

5 (a relative participle). I *-ñ*, II *-k*, III *-wo*, IV *-l*, *-lwo*, V *-o*, *-u*.—In IV *-l* is the usual ending, *-lwo* no doubt a new formation.—In V the (older) form *-o* is rarely found; in a few instances a fuller form occurs, e. g. *khanakava* H<sup>1</sup> 3<sup>b</sup>.3 (for the usual form *khanaku* from *khanaka-l* “to cause to see”).

6 (id.). I, II *-ñā*, III *-yā*, IV *-lā*, V *-ā*.—On *-nā*, *-nyā* for *-ñā* see § 10 c.—An alternative form in *-ñāñā* occurs in a few cases (error?).—For the forms in *-ñās*, *-ñāsēṃ* see § 102 note.

7 (id.). The ending is *-kwo* throughout. In IV it seems added to the longer base, *mālakwo*. An example of V is *bhālapako* (V<sup>1</sup> 75<sup>b</sup>.4, from *bhālapa-l* “to think”). In N the I. class may have an anusvāra before the ending, *vaṃko* (12<sup>a</sup>.7, from *wo-n* “to go”).

8 (an infinitive of purpose). I *-n*, II *-t*, III *-l*, IV, V id., i. e. really the short base without an ending, *kan*, *yāt*, *bil*, *māl*, *nakal*.—N has a few instances of an ending *-nd* (*-ṃd*) for I.

9 (an adverbial participle). I *-ñam*, II id., III (wanting), IV *-lam*, V *-am*.

10 (id.). The ending is *-sēṃ*.—In I, especially in the younger MSS, an anusvāra is sometimes inserted before it, e. g. *ñamsēṃ* from *ñā-n* “to hear”. In IV the final *-l* mostly disappears, e. g. *sāsyam* B 107.26, from *sāl-* “to drag”. The V. class usually has a short *a* before the ending, but a long *ā* may be found; in a few cases the vowel is *u*, e. g. *nakusē* Vi 112.13.—In V<sup>1</sup> there sometimes occurs an alternative form in *-sā* (e. g. *khāsā* 78<sup>a</sup>.1).—*-nam* may be added (*bisēnam* “though he gives”).

Note. The *-ṃ* of 9 and 10 may be wanting, in a few cases *-n* is found for it (*yāñan*, *bisēn*).

11 (a conjunctive participle). The ending is *-le*, less frequently *-len*.—In I an anusvāra may be inserted (e. g. *bhiṃle* C<sup>2</sup> 73 from *bhi-n* “to be good”).—From IV this form is not found.

12 (id.). Formed by reduplicating the short base, *yā-yāṃ*, *na-naṃ*. In IV and V wanting.

The 3rd, 4th, 5th, and 6th forms are declinable. The 101 following cases are found

Agent.			<i>yākasan</i> (N)	
Gen.	<i>yāyiyā</i>	<i>yāyayā</i>	<i>yākayā</i> , <i>yākas</i> (N)	<i>yāñāyā</i>
Dat.		<i>yāyayāta</i>		
Loc.		<i>yāyas</i>		
Instr.		<i>yāyan</i>	<i>yākan</i>	<i>yāñān</i>
Soc.		<i>yāyawo</i>		<i>yāñāwo</i>
Dir.		<i>yāyata</i>		

To the same forms may be added the particles *-hma*, *-gu*, *-guli*, very frequently in the youngest MSS.

B. Forms from the longer base (*kana-*, *yāta-*, *bila-*, 102 *māla-*, *nakala-*).

1 (a conditional). The ending is *-sā*. Derived from this form is

2 (a concessive) with the ending *-sa-nwom*, later *-sa-naṃ* (rarely *-sā-naṃ*). The usual form in the younger MSS is *-sām*.—The younger MSS have alternative forms, derived from A 5, e. g. *mvākasām* from *mvā-t* “to live”, *twonakusā* from *twonaka-l* “to cause to drink” for *mvātasā*, *twonakalasā* (even *byākvasā* Bh 14<sup>a</sup>.1 from *byā-t* “to agree with”).—Short forms, like *dhāsā* from *dhā-l* “to say”, *osā*, *omsā* (Vi) from *wo-n* “to go” may occur in the younger MSS.—N has *vaṃdasā* from *wo-n* (22<sup>b</sup>.2).

3–6 have a common base in *-ñā* (*kanañā* etc.); 3 has the ending *-ñāsēṃ*, 4 *-ñās*, 5 *-ñāwo*, 6 *-ñān* (in N only). 3, 4, 5 are conjunctive participles, 6 a causal.

Note. The base in *-ñā* alone seems to be found as a conjunctive participle (*sayakarañā* N 38<sup>a</sup>. 8). For 3 and 4 short forms are sometimes found (*lvāñās* N 42<sup>b</sup>. 8, *puñāsyaṃ* H<sup>2</sup> 49<sup>b</sup>. 2).

7. Finally we may note a form in *-sēm* (*yātasēm*, in *N vandasyaṃ*), but it is doubtful, if this is not merely a new formation for A 10.

### 103 C. Compound Forms.

1 (an imperative). Root + *hune*, *huna* (more modern *-huni*, *-huṃ*, *-huwo*), which is found independently to signify “go!”.—Vi 88.23 has *-hvane*.

2 (id.). Root + *hñān*, less frequently *-ñān* (cf. § 9). Mostly in V<sup>1</sup>.

3 (a polite imperative). Root + *sane* (a few cases of *-sa*); formed from a few verbs only, as *di-sane* “please!”, *jhā-sane* “come!”

4 Root + *-tole*, *-tale* (also *-tolen*, *-talen*, *-toleṃ*, *-tolenṃ*, *-toleyā*. The forms with *o* are the oldest, cf. § 10 a) “until”. Verbs of I may insert an anusvāra (*vaṃ-tolen* H<sup>2</sup> 52<sup>a</sup>.5).—Forms like *biva-tola* (B 27.21) are new formations. Note *lāva-tolenṃ* (B 94.7) from *lā-t* “to reach”.

5 Root + *-tunṃ*, less frequently *-tunaṃ* “immediately after”. Mostly an *-s* is inserted, e. g. *dhā-s-tunaṃ* V<sup>1</sup> 39<sup>b</sup>.4 from *dhā-l* “to speak” (= *dhā-tunaṃ* V<sup>2</sup> 26<sup>a</sup>.2). In the younger MSS there occur new formations like *dhuṇa-s-tunṃ* (Ś 165<sup>b</sup>.4, from *dhu-n* “to finish”), *thiya-s-tunṃ* (B 74.9, from *thi-l* “to touch”), *dava-tunṃ* (P 3<sup>a</sup>.5, from *da-t* “to be”).

6 Root + *-kāle*; in N only. Note *khaṃ-kāle* from *kha-n* “to see” (23<sup>a</sup>.2).

Note. *juva-kāle* B 44.31 is dubious.

7. Root + *-wola*; in N only. E. g. *mvā-vala* 37<sup>b</sup>.4.

8. Root + *-tu*. Used for forming Intensives.

### 104 Finally some less frequent formations may be noted.

For A 1 are found enlarged forms in *-gwo* and *-yo*, *yā*;

e. g. *yāta-gva* H<sup>1</sup> 44<sup>a</sup>.6, *yala-go* V<sup>2</sup> 17<sup>a</sup>.4 (from *ē-l* “to wish”); *dhenayo* H<sup>2</sup> 63<sup>b</sup>.3 (from *dhē-n* “to cut off”).—From *co-n* “to sit” (very rarely from other verbs) is formed *coṃ-gwo*, being an alternative form for A 5 (*coṃ*).—Vi has a few instances of *bisē-ka-l* as causative of *bi-l* “to flee”, e. g. 119.22.—The root itself may be used with the same meaning as most of the shorter forms.

### Conjugation of the Verb.

#### A. Forms from the short Base

105

1	<i>kanam</i>	<i>yātam</i>	<i>bilam</i>	<i>mālam</i>	<i>nakalam</i>
	<i>kana</i>	<i>yāta</i>	<i>bila</i>	<i>māla</i>	<i>nakala</i>
	<i>kano</i>	<i>yāto</i>	<i>bilo</i>	<i>mālo</i>	<i>nakalo</i>
2	<i>kañō</i> ,	<i>yāwo</i>	<i>biwo</i>		<i>naki, nakiwo</i> ,
	[ <i>kawo</i>				[ <i>nakine</i>
3	<i>kani</i>	<i>yāyu, -yi</i>	<i>biyu, -yi</i>	<i>māli</i>	<i>naki</i>
	<i>kaniwo</i>	<i>yāyuwo</i> ,	<i>biyuwo</i> ,	<i>māliwo</i>	<i>nakiwo</i>
		[ <i>-yiwo</i>	[ <i>-yiwo</i>		
	<i>kanino</i>	<i>yāyuno</i> ,	<i>biyuno</i>	<i>māliino</i>	<i>nakino</i>
		[ <i>-yino</i>	[ <i>-yino</i>		
4	<i>kanē</i>	<i>yāya</i>	<i>biya</i>	<i>mālē</i>	<i>nakē</i>
5	<i>kañ</i>	<i>yāk</i>	<i>biwo</i>	<i>māl</i>	<i>naku</i>
6	<i>kañā</i>	<i>yāñā</i>	<i>biyā</i>	<i>mālā</i>	<i>nakā</i>
7	<i>ka(ṃ)kwo</i>	<i>yākwo</i>	<i>bikwo</i>	<i>mālakwo</i>	<i>nakakwo</i>
8	<i>kan</i>	<i>yāt</i>	<i>bil</i>	<i>māl</i>	<i>nakal</i>
9	<i>kañam</i>	<i>yāñam</i>		<i>mālam</i>	<i>nakam</i>
10	<i>ka(ṃ)sēm</i>	<i>yāsēm</i>	<i>bisēm</i>	<i>māsēm</i>	<i>nakāsēm</i>
11	<i>ka(ṃ)le</i>	<i>yāle</i>	<i>bile</i>		<i>nakale</i>
12	<i>ka-kam</i>	<i>yā-yām</i>	<i>bi-biṃ</i>		

## 106

## B. Forms from the longer Base

1	<i>kanasā</i>	<i>yātasā</i>	<i>bilasā</i>	<i>mālasā</i>	<i>nakalasā</i>
2	<i>kanasanwom</i>	<i>yātasānwom</i>	<i>bilasanwom</i>	<i>mālasanwom</i>	<i>nakalasanwom</i>
	<i>kanasām</i>	<i>yātasām</i>	<i>bilasām</i>	<i>mālasām</i>	<i>nakalasām</i>
3	<i>kanahāsēm</i>	<i>yātaḥāsēm</i>	<i>bilahāsēm</i>	<i>mālahāsēm</i>	<i>nakalahāsēm</i>
4	<i>kanahās</i>	<i>yātaḥās</i>	<i>bilahās</i>	<i>mālahās</i>	<i>nakalahās</i>
5	<i>kanahāwo</i>	<i>yataḥāwo</i>	<i>bilahāwo</i>	<i>mālahāwo</i>	<i>nakalahāwo</i>
6	<i>kanahān</i>	<i>yātaḥān</i>	<i>bilahān</i>	<i>mālahān</i>	<i>nakalahān</i>
7	<i>kanasēm</i>	<i>yātasēm</i>	<i>bilasēm</i>	<i>mālasēm</i>	

## 107

## C. Compound Forms

1	<i>ka-hune</i>	<i>yā-hune</i>	<i>bi-hune</i>	<i>naka-hune</i>
4	<i>ka(m)-tole</i>	<i>yā-tole</i>	<i>bi-tole</i>	<i>naka-tole</i>
5	<i>ka(m)s-tunum</i>	<i>yā-s-tunum</i>	<i>bi-s-tunum</i>	
6	<i>ka(m)-kāle</i>	<i>yā-kāle</i>	<i>bi-kāle</i>	<i>naka-kāle</i>
8	<i>ka-tu</i>	<i>yā-tu</i>	<i>bi-tu</i>	<i>māl-tu</i>

Note. This is an ideal table. Not all forms given here are found in the MSS.—Of C I have given only the most commonly occurring forms.

## 108

## Irregularities.

These are of two kinds; see § 91 note 2.

a. the following instances seem to be old.

*wo-n* “to go”: the imperative is expressed by means of *hune* etc. (see § 103,1).

*hñā-t* “to be alike”: 5th form *hñāk*, *hñāwo*, 6th form *hñāyā*.

*co-t* “to write”: 1st form *cotam*, 5th *cok*, causative *cocaka-l*; the other forms from a base *co-l*.

*cho-l* “to send”: 1st form mostly *chotam*; the longer base seems always to be *chota-*.

*ta-l* “to do”: when used as an auxiliary, especially in N, rarely in other MSS, the following shortened forms occur, A 2. *tī*, *tiwo*, 4. *tē*, 6. *tā*, 9. *taṃ*, 10. *tisēm* (cf. § 11).

*twol-ta-l* “to leave behind”: mostly regular, but the following anomalous forms are found: A 3 *tor-talayiva* V<sup>2</sup> 9<sup>b</sup>.3, 6 *tol-tayā* V<sup>1</sup> 120<sup>a</sup>.6, *tol-tuñāva* M 19<sup>b</sup>.3.

*dhā-l* “to speak”: forms with a short *a* are found, *dhayāva* H<sup>3</sup> 19<sup>b</sup>.10, *dhamko* N 4<sup>b</sup>.5. Frequently *dhakam*, *dhakāwo*, see §§ 210—213.

*na-l* “to eat”: A 2 always *niwo*, 4 mostly *nē*.

*mo-l* “to perish”: A 5 *mok*; causative *mocaka-l*.

*hlā-t* “to speak”: usually II. class, but forms from the III. class (*hlā-l*) are found.

*swo-l* “to regard”: mostly regular, but A 1 may be *swotam*, and the longer base *swota-*. The caus. is always *swocaka-l* or *swota-ka-l*.

*ha-l* “to bring”: A 2 always *hi*, *hiwo*, 4 may be *hē* (esp. in N).

b. of later irregularities may be mentioned: caus. *gāyaka-l* from *gāl-* “to fan”, *cāyaka-l* from *cāl-* “to open”; A 5 *chāwo*, *māwo* from *chāl-* “to like”, *māl-* “to be necessary”. *thu-l* besides *thul-* “to possess”, *si-l* besides *sil-* “to wash”, *ñā-l* besides *ñā-t* “to bite”.

## Auxiliaries.

These are *da-t* “to be, to exist”, *kha-t* “to be”, *pha-t* 109 “to be able”, *ju-l* “to become”, *jī-l* “to be able”, *te-l* “to be proper”, *māl-* “to be necessary” (also *mvāl-* cf. § 9), *te-n*, *ta-n* “to be about, to be willing”.

Of these *te-n*, *ta-n* is regular. To the inflection of the 110 others, the following remarks apply:

a. after *ma* “not” all of them have an alternative 1st form in *-e* (e. g. *date*, *jule*, *tele*), the 1st form in *-o* is more frequent than from other verbs.

b. *te-l* and *māl-* have the short forms *te*, *mā* for A 5, the former only after *ma*, the latter in the younger MSS.

c. the first three are quite irregular, being weakened from fuller forms, which are still found in N, and are regular verbs of the II. class; *dvā-t*, *dā-t*; *phvā-t*, *phā-t*; *khā-t* (see § 11).—The *-t* is found only in the 1st form (*dataṃ* etc.), and in the longer base (*data-* etc.); the other forms are, as far as they are regular, formed from a III. class base.—After *ma* the 5th form is mostly *du*, *phu*, *phu*, older *do*, *kho*, *pho*. Of *kha-t* there occur special forms *kha*, *khe*, *khas*, *khes* (see §§ 153, 156, 209, 211).—*kha-t* and *pha-t* have alternative forms with *u* in the base (e. g. *khuto*, *phute*, *phuwo*), which seem to be new formations.—*da-t* and *pha-t* have the causatives *dayaka-l*, *phacaka-l*.—Other irregularities are *daṃhāva* (C<sup>2</sup> 141 = *datahāva* C<sup>1</sup>), *dusā* (condit.) Vi 122.4; the form *dani* = *dawo* with the derivations *daniwo* = *dayiwo*, *daniṣā* = *datasā*, found only in the younger MSS, seems to be a contraction of *dawo* + the particle *ni* (cf. V<sup>1</sup> 64<sup>a</sup>.1 *dava nī*).

111 The shorter forms of *da-t*, *kha-t*, *pha-t*, as far as they exist.

1	<i>dataṃ</i> , <i>-ta</i> , <i>-to</i> , <i>-te</i>	<i>khatam</i> , <i>-ta</i> , <i>-to</i> , <i>-te</i>	<i>phatam</i> , <i>-ta</i> , <i>-to</i> , <i>-te</i> ; <i>phute</i>
3	<i>dayu-</i> , <i>dayi-</i> , <i>daniwo</i>		<i>phayu-</i> , <i>phayi-</i>
4	<i>daya</i>	<i>khaya</i>	<i>phaya</i> ; <i>phuya</i>
5	<i>dawo</i> ; <i>do</i> , <i>du</i> , <i>dani</i>	<i>khawo</i> ; <i>kho</i> , <i>khu</i>	<i>phawo</i> ; <i>pho</i> , <i>phu</i> ; <i>phuwo</i>
6	<i>dayā</i>	<i>khayā</i>	<i>phayā</i>
7			<i>phakwo</i>
10	<i>dasēm</i>		
11	<i>dale</i>		

The auxiliaries and some other verbs, like *dhu-n* “to finish”, *co-n* “to sit” are used for forming periphrastic forms of the verb. See §§ 154 ff.

Finally it may be noted that in Vi verbal endings may be added directly to Sanskrit nouns; e. g. *thwote prakāra-sām* 79.20 “under these circumstances”, *sumaranāyāo* 84.23 “invoking”.

### Meaning and Use of the Verbal Forms.

#### The Causative.

114

Notably in the younger MSS the Causative may be used in a quasi-passive sense, e. g. *asamkhy bhikṣu-gananaṃ uyakāo* Vi 101.11 f. “being surrounded by innumerable bhikṣus”, which may have developed out of a reflexive sense “suffering himself to be s.”—Now and then it has the meaning of the simplex, e. g. *gālaka-l* = *gāl-* “to fan”.—Note *ka-l* “to hit”, of inanimate objects, *kayaka-l* id., of living beings; *pu-n* “to dress oneself”, *punaka-l* “to dress others”.

The negative particle *ma* before a causative usually denotes a negation of the simplex, e. g. *thva kanyā ma kāyakalaṃ* V<sup>1</sup> 87<sup>b</sup>.4 “he caused the girl not to be taken”; *ma khanaka-l* means “to make invisible”, lit. “to cause not to be seen”.

On the construction of the causative see § 25.

#### The Inflectional Forms.

A 1 is a finite verb, A 2 and C 1—3 are imperatives, A 3—7 are used predicatively as finite verbal forms, attributively and substantively as relative participles or relative clause-equivalents, and as verbal nouns; the rest (including some of the cases of A 4—6 (cf. § 101) are used



as infinitives of purpose, adverbial and conjunctive participles, and as subordinate clause-equivalents.

- 116 All verbal forms are constructed verbally, i. e. with a subject or agent, and an object.—The personal pronouns, when used as subject or object, may be omitted, when they can be inferred from the context; notably this is the case with the 1st person before the 1st form in *-o* and the 6th form.

A. Forms from the short base.

- 117 1 is used only as a finite verb, and denotes a completed action.

a. it is the usual narrative form. *rākṣas tam cāyāva vayāva mahā yuddh yātaṃ. rithya thva rājān taman tālapatr khaḍgan pārāva mocakaraṃ* B 37.12 ff. “the ogre became angry, came up, and began a mortal strife. Then the king in his rage smote him with his sword, and killed him”.

b. it denotes a future action, about the accomplishment of which there can be no doubt. *āvalaṃ li ji vaya* (Ed. erroneously *vayā*) *ma khuto. ma vala* B 105.15 f. “henceforth it does not befit me to come, I shall not come!”

- 118 As to the use of the different endings the following may be said. *-aṃ* is the usual form at the end of a sentence; it is but rarely found after the 1st and 2nd persons; *-o* which on the whole is infrequently found, mostly occurs after the 1st and 2nd persons in the older MSS, in the younger MSS its use with the 3rd person becomes more frequent; *-a* is used for both forms, especially at the end of the oratio recta before *dhakaṃ* (see § 212), and in relative clauses (§ 207); occasionally also before *hanaṃ* “further”, *thwonaṃ-li* “after that”, and similar words.—

*-ā* is rarely found, and is perhaps an error. In *V*<sup>1</sup> it is an orthographical variant for *-a*, *-aṃ*.

Note. After the 1st and 2nd persons A 6 mostly takes the place of 1. See § 126 dβ.

2 is the usual form of the imperative.—It may take 119 a subject, e. g. *chen. jeke prahār yāva* Bh 81<sup>a</sup>.6 “you beat me”.

3 denotes either a customary or habitual action, or 120 a future action.—The form in *-no*, *-na* is only found predicatively, as it seems, always as a future. The short form, and the form in *-wo* may be used in all instances, the short form by preference before *-hma*, *-gu* and with particles (*lā*, *thēm*, cf. §§ 197, 4. 208). The short form of the I. and V. classes is rarely found.

The use of these forms may be illustrated by the following examples.

a. as a finite verb.

α (a habitative). *bārak ju-tore. babun siṣarapīva. yaubanas puruṣan siṣarapīva* H<sup>1</sup> 62<sup>b</sup>.1 f. “as long as (she) is a child, her father controls her, in her youth the husband controls her”. *sadānaṃ jiva nāpa rātrīs con va’iva* B 130.29 “he always comes, to pass the night with me”.—Also of the past: *thva dhunakāva. sakhi juyāva coniva* V<sup>2</sup> 57<sup>a</sup>.6 “having finished this, they lived as friends (for a long time)”.

β (a future). *prasann ma julāsa. ji puruṣ rājāva nāpaṃ siṃ* B 115.24 “unless (you) have mercy, my husband will die together with the king”. *thanī prabhāt jus-tunaṃ. rājā moyuvano* V<sup>1</sup> 43<sup>b</sup>.4 f. (= ... *moyuno* V<sup>2</sup> 28<sup>b</sup>.2) “to-day, as soon as the day dawns, the king will die”.

b. as a relative participle.

α (adjectivally). *laṃkha kāl oyō thās* S 148<sup>b</sup>.6 “at a place where they used to come and draw water”.—*abasyaṃ*

*jugu-guri padārth* H<sup>1</sup> 6<sup>a</sup>.1 "a thing that will necessarily happen".

β (substantivally). *nayu* "an (habitual) eater". *dah kāyu-pani* N 40<sup>a</sup>.2 "the prospective heirs".

γ (with verbs, meaning "to see, to hear, to know" and the like). *rājā moyuva seva-hma* V<sup>1</sup> 44<sup>a</sup>.1 "one who knows, that the king is going to die".

c. as a verbal noun. *apamān lāyu. ajñānayā phal* H<sup>2</sup> 55<sup>a</sup>.7 "(constantly) to suffer humiliation, is the fruit of ignorance". *śrāp biyū-gūyā bhayan* M 28<sup>b</sup>.1 "for fear that a curse might be pronounced".

122 4 denotes an action, which ought to be done, might be done, or is intended to be done. It is used

a. predicatively.

α with the 1st person as subject it denotes the intention of a future action (a "subjective future"). *āva thva rājā kisi-rūpan jin mocake* B 110.23 "I will kill the king in the shape of an elephant".—In questions: *gana vane* H<sup>1</sup> 54<sup>b</sup>.1 "where shall I go?"

β with the 2nd and 3rd person it may have the same meaning, *cha vane lā. coṇe lā* B 120.28 "will you go, or will you stay?" But mostly it has the meaning of an optative. *thva mantrayā siddhi seya* V<sup>1</sup> 92<sup>b</sup>.5 "(you) may know the power of this spell". *thvatetā seva-hmaṃ paṇḍit dhāya* H<sup>2</sup> 54<sup>a</sup>.2 f. "one who knows all this, may be called a paṇḍit".—*thathiṃ-hma putr jāyarape chāy* H<sup>2</sup> 49<sup>b</sup>.6 "why should such a son be born?"

b. as a relative participle.

α (adjectivally). *ṇyāye miye padārth* N 23<sup>b</sup>.6 "objects, which are to be bought and sold" (i. e. "merchandise"). *chan haya-guli belā* Vi 122.32 "the time when you have to

bring". *ji-panis duḥkh sukh hlāya thās ma du* B 52.7 f. "we have nowhere we can speak of our misfortunes and successes". *śuci yāya-gu upakār* P 58<sup>b</sup>.4 "a means by which to purify".

β (substantivally). *dūt yāya-paniṃ. apār dava* H<sup>2</sup> 79<sup>a</sup>.4 "there are a great many who are to be made messengers". *thva byūl vanya-hma. li-hāṃ vaya ma du* B 36.22 f. "he, who has to go as a victim (?), cannot come back".

c. as a verbal noun, with the meaning of an Infinitive.

α (with verbs and adjectives). *ji hñeḍ dayakya ma chālā* B 114.28 "I dared not go to sleep". *je mocake kārj yātāṃ* V<sup>1</sup> 18<sup>a</sup>.5 "(she) made preparations to kill me". *sīk-hma... mvāke sayā* B 129.25 "I know how to revive a dead person". *o pujarapyā jogy jurasā* H<sup>1</sup> 38<sup>a</sup>.2 "if he is worthy of being worshipped". (More examples sub "auxiliaries" §§ 155 ff.).

β (as a subject). *krodhi juya... mitrayā dokh* H<sup>1</sup> 53<sup>a</sup>.2 "to be irascible is injurious to friendship".

γ (as an infinitive of purpose). *je mām bicār yāya. thava deśas vane* V<sup>2</sup> 20<sup>a</sup>.6 "I will go to my country, to take care of my mother".

δ (with *nuyo* "let us", and *yāṇa(ṃ)* "in order to"). *jhejesen bidyā abhyās yāt one nuyo* V<sup>2</sup> 64<sup>b</sup>.1 "let us go to acquire wisdom". *bhatin. pakṣi-cāto. naya-yāṇaṃ. thva thāyas vanaṃ* H<sup>1</sup> 36<sup>b</sup>.2 "the cat went to this place, in order to devour the young of the birds".

Note. In *rānīnaṃ kāya-yā hiva* B 22.12 "bring it, that the queen may take it", -yā is most likely a shortened form of *yāṇa*.

Of the cases of this form the following may be said. 123

a. Genitive. Used only when dependent on nouns.

*thvatetā rāji moyayā lakṣaṇ* H<sup>2</sup> 60<sup>b</sup>.1 "these are the signs

that a kingdom will perish". *mocā buyayā. bedanā* Vd 26<sup>a</sup>.4 "the pain of childbearing".

b. Dative. Used with the meaning "for the purpose of". *cha-pani syāyayāta caṇḍāl bonakal chotaṃ* B 122.25 "he sent for the Caṇḍālas to have you put to death" (lit. "for the purpose of putting you to d."). *thwo jubarājā ghāt ma yātakeyāta. jin chu jatn yāya mār* Vi 55.14 "what efforts must I make, that this prince may not be killed".

c. Instrumental. An infinitive of purpose. *saty pratipālan yāyan vale* V<sup>1</sup> 70<sup>b</sup>.1 "when she goes in order to keep her oath". Rarely found.

d. Locative. Used with the general meaning "in doing".

α (dependent on verbs). It is used with verbs like *ras yāya* "to take delight in", *udyam yāya* "to exert oneself", *taya* "to appoint to" and the like; also with adjectives like *tayār* "ready for", *tatpar* "intent upon".—Ex. *thvava kāryyas sunānaṃ udyam ma yāk* H<sup>2</sup> 49<sup>b</sup>.6 "who does not exert himself in his own affairs".

β (alone). *dhan sahās yāyas-aṃ rāj tol-te māl* C<sup>2</sup> 9 "in collecting riches . . . one must put aside all shame". Mostly it means "in the case of doing, when about to do".

e. Sociative. "As soon as . . .". *thva dhāleyā pu vāyavaṃ buyāva si sava* B 85.19 f. "as soon as you drop the seed of this date, it will germinate and bear fruit". *ji khaneo bisē onio* Vi 155.9 "they will flee, at the more sight of see".—Found only in the younger MSS.

Note. *āhār yāyao mailhun yāyao nidrāo* Vi 34.27 f means "eating, copulation, and sleep".

f. Directive. Not essentially different from the dative. *manuṣy-thiṃ syāyata. bicār mu mvāl lā* B 112.28 "is an investigation unnecessary for the killing of a human being?" *siyata su vaniva* ib. 36. 27 f. "who will go to die?" *mebayā*

*ann nayata . . . chi-skar-pani jāṇ. bhikṣuṃ ma khu* Vi 22.33 ff. "you are not a bhikṣu, that you may eat the food of others".

Note to 4. In a few cases there seems to be an ending *aṃ* for *4 + ṃ*, e. g. *misāyā caritr svayakaṃ khava. bicār yāyaṃ khava* B 114.3 "the right thing to do, is to watch the doings of women, to examine them", where *svayakaṃ* must stand for *svyakē-ṃ*.

5 denotes an incompleted action, an action in progress. It is used

a. as a relative participle.

α (attributively). *lā-hāthas coṇ kaṃkan* H<sup>1</sup> 16<sup>b</sup>.2 "the bracelet which was in his hand". *asaty kha hlāk misā* B 50.11 "a woman who tells lies". *meba sunānaṃ ma twoṇ-gu laṃkha* Vi 35.3 f. "water, others do not drink". *nava kvathā* B 101.29 "a room where one eats". *rājā li-hā bi-jyāk-gulī bārtā* Vi 39.7 f. "the rumour that the king was coming back". *śastran prahār yāk-gū bedanā* M 34<sup>b</sup>.6 "the pain of being hit by a sword".

β (substantivally). *hetiyā bacan ma ñeṇ-hma* H<sup>1</sup> 46<sup>b</sup>.2 "one that does not listen to the words of a friend". *sik-hmayā māṃs* M 11<sup>b</sup>.8 "the flesh of a dead one". *meb āyatasam coṇ-hmaṃ mvāk dhāya ma khu* H<sup>2</sup> 51<sup>b</sup>.1 "whoever is dependent on others, cannot be called living". *saty ma dhāo-panisen jakaṃ. thathiṇṇ bṛtti yāyuo* Vi 35.26 "only liars speak in this way".

γ (nomen actoris). *thwol* "an owner", *jjā-po* "an agricultural labourer". Esp. frequent in N: *ñyāk* "a buyer", *miwo* "a seller", *bhuktarapu* "an enjoyer".

b. with verbs like "to see, to hear, to think", and the like. *thva bova khañāva* H<sup>1</sup> 24<sup>a</sup>.3 "on seeing them fly". *thava garbhas jāyalapu bhālapāva* B 124.31 "thinking that he is born from your womb".—*-gulī* may be added: *jin*

*jāṃ svāmin doḥ yāk-gulī chuṃ ma khañā* Vi 43.5 f. "I do not see, that my husband has committed any crime".

c. as a verbal noun (nomen actionis of an action in progress). *strī puruṣ ne-hmaṃ mokayā pāp* V<sup>1</sup> 33<sup>a</sup>.3 "the sin of husband and wife being dead". *dhup thañāo haku-guṇ* Vi 19.4 "through the burning of incense".—*syāk* "pain" (from *syā-t* "to hurt").

Note. Properly speaking, we have in these examples an inflection of a whole sentence.

d. predicatively, mostly with the 3rd person as subject. It denotes

α. the present. *chatāṃ ma khañ* (MS *chataṃ*) H<sup>1</sup> 4<sup>b</sup>.2 "he does not see anything". *basarapaṃ coñ* "he lives" (very frequent).—Rarely with the 1st and 2nd persons. *je ... thana naya ma yava* V<sup>2</sup> 47<sup>a</sup>.4 "I do not wish to eat here". *chan sio* "you know" Vi 44.26.

β. the past; by preference in sentences which are closely connected with the following. *Bikramādīt rājā bālakhas babunaṃ vāñṇaṃ tāthū. thana mantrīnaṃ la hisyaṃ tava* B 109.30 f. "the father abandoned (or "had abandoned") the king Vikramāditya, when a boy; and then the minister brought him up". *jeva biśvās yāk pakṣi-panisyaṃ je hñavane. che praśaṃśā hlāk. thvaten ...* H<sup>1</sup> 38<sup>b</sup>.4 "the birds who rely upon me, praised you before me; and therefore ..."

Note. In instances like *āva je hastas rāk-hma* Bh 9<sup>a</sup>.4 "now you have come into my hands", we have really a relative participle, used predicatively: "(you) are one that ..."

125 The following cases of this form are used as subordinate clause-equivalents.

a. Genitive (rarely). *jā narañāva. saril ma chinayā. chinake* Vd 43<sup>b</sup>.4 "if the body does not become strong, when one eats food, it is to be strengthened".

b. Instrumental. Connoting "by doing", or "because" (causal clause, cf. § 127 a). *bhutan hnās bān nāvan kālaṃ* V<sup>2</sup> 24<sup>a</sup>.6 "the ghost took the nose, by biting it with his teeth". *Keṣī daity mocakun. Keṣab dhakaṃ. Kṛṣṇayā nām chuñā* Bh 62<sup>b</sup>.6 "they gave to Kṛṣṇa the name of Keśava, because he killed the daitya Keśin".—With the particle *-aṃ* added, it takes the meaning "in spite of, even though". *thathe yākanaṃ. Dhanadattatu bhālapāva conaṃ* V<sup>1</sup> 32<sup>b</sup>.4 "even though he had acted in this way, she kept on thinking of Dhanadatta".

Note to 5. The fuller form of V in *-awo* (see § 100,5) seems to be used only predicatively.

6 generally denotes a completed action. It is used 126

a. as a relative participle (mostly to be translated by the passive, see Introd.).

α (attributively). *bhinakaṃ sāsarapaṃ tayā strī* H<sup>1</sup> 20<sup>a</sup>.4 "a well trained wife". *kanyā sīse tayā-hma rājā* V<sup>2</sup> 52<sup>a</sup>.5 "the king the girl had been entrusted to". *mṛtak cisyaṃ tayā khipot* V<sup>2</sup> 4<sup>b</sup>.5 "the rope the corpse had been fettered with". *thva hnās dhyañā-hma na'unīyā* B 97.21 "of the barber's wife, whose nose had been cut off". *yajñ yāñā-gu puṇy* M 5<sup>b</sup>.8 "the merit of having made a sacrifice".—Rarely with an agent. *janan parapā ślok* H<sup>2</sup> 61<sup>b</sup>.6 "a verse recited by a person".—This form seems to be preferred to the 5th form, when the 1st or 2nd person is the subject. *ji-pani vayā kāry* M 31<sup>a</sup>.1 "the business we came for". *ji phale dyañṇaṃ conyā belas* B 26.17 "at the time when I was sleeping in the courtyard".

β (substantivally). *syāñā-hmayā rā. hī* M 11<sup>b</sup>.8 "the flesh of one who has been killed". *kul śir byabahār ma seyā-hma* H<sup>1</sup> 35<sup>b</sup>.3 "one whose family, character, and conduct are unknown".

b. With verbs like "to see, to hear, to perceive" etc. *coke hora tayā khañāva* H<sup>1</sup> 13<sup>b</sup>.5 "seeing that rice had been strewn". *thalthe barakhunin dhāyā ñeñāva* H<sup>1</sup> 20<sup>b</sup>.1 "having heard the pigeon speak thus".

c. as a verbal noun (nomen actionis of a completed action). Frequently in N: *dāyā* "the beating, the having beaten"; *ṣṇanakā* "the destroying, the having destroyed". —In other MSS only found in the genitive. *Citragrībayā. pās. Hiranyakan. pheñāyā khaṃ* H<sup>1</sup> 57<sup>b</sup>.1 "the story of the rending of Citragrīva's snare by Hiranyaka (or "... how Hir. rent..."). *kumāl hñerāyā arth* V<sup>2</sup> 63<sup>b</sup>.2 "the meaning of the laughing of the boy".

d. predicatively. It denotes

α. a present with the 1st or 2nd person as subject (corresponding to the 3rd person with 5). *jen seyā* "I know", *je vayā* "I come". *bho mantri-ju. chu ujan dayakā* B 85.25 f. "o honorable minister, what order do you give?"

β. with the same persons a past (corresponding to the 3rd person with 1 or 5). *rājā hñila. ji hñilā* B 139.8 f. "the king laughed; (and) I laughed". *che āsray. svarggava ture* (= *tulya*). *jen rāñā* H<sup>1</sup> 70<sup>b</sup>.2 "I have obtained your protection, which is like heaven". *rājāyāke khul oñā. thva belas rātaṃ* V<sup>2</sup> 59<sup>a</sup>.3 "(I) went to steal from the king; and then they caught (me)".

γ. in some MSS (esp. H<sup>2</sup>, Bh, B) this form is used with the 3rd person instead of the 1st form; especially before oratio recta. *thana mähānanam inālapā. bho mahārājā...* B 26.8 f. "then the official said: Oh great king...".

Note. Instances like *babunaṃ tyājapanaṃ tayā-hma ji* B 29.24 f. must be understood in the same way as those mentioned in § 124 note: "I am one that has been disowned by her father".

The following cases are used as subordinate clause-127 equivalents.

a. Instrumental. The literal meaning is "by, through making...". *thva-pani syāñān doṣan ma lāk* N 43<sup>a</sup>.5 "one does not become guilty by killing these".—It is the usual form of expressing a causal clause. *jeke chal-pol bi-jyāñān. je dhaṇṇy* Bh 40<sup>a</sup>.6 "I am happy, because you have come to me". *bidyā seva dhakaṃ. ñeñān. je thana vayā* H<sup>1</sup> 38<sup>b</sup>.5 "I come hither, because I had heard that you knew the arts".—With *-aṃ* it means "in spite of, even though". *thava ches coñānaṃ. samudran bigrah yāyu rā* H<sup>2</sup> 69<sup>a</sup>.6 "is the ocean going to wage war, even if I stay in my house?" The literal meaning in *kebal paśu cha-hma syāñānaṃ* Vi 38.7 f. "even by killing merely one animal".

Note. In a few cases a later form in *-āṃ* is found, e. g. *hlāyāṃ* H<sup>2</sup> 56<sup>b</sup>.7 "though he said".

b. Sociative. This is the most frequently found conjunctive participle, and it is used

α. as a conjunctive participle of the past. *śaḍa gayāva vanaṃ* B 23.26 "after mounting his horse, he rode off" (or "he mounted..., and..."). *thva kanyā vaṃñāva. oyā bilahan pīdalapāva... rājaputran mitrayāke dhālaṃ* V<sup>1</sup> 10<sup>b</sup>.2 "after this girl was gone, the prince, being tortured by longing for her, said to his friend...". *rājān khaḍgan pārāva moka-karaṃ* B 37.14 "the king smote him with his sword, and killed him".

β. as an adverbial participle, not differing in meaning from 9 and 10. *baniyā khvayāva vanaṃ* B 16.27 "the merchant went away weeping".

γ. with interrogative adverbs; *thalthe ṣu vasaṇaṃ. ṣaṇāva chu* H<sup>2</sup> 52<sup>b</sup>.5 f. "though a thief thus comes, why look?"—



and with *prajojan. je mvāhāva. prajojan ma dato* V<sup>2</sup> 22<sup>b</sup>.4 (= *mvāhāyā* V<sup>1</sup> 34<sup>b</sup>.5) "it is of no use that I am alive".

Note. In a few instances this form is found with the meaning of a relative participle, e. g. *dayakāo-guli* "being built" (Vi 88.20).—In cases like *brahm syāhāva uti* P. 52<sup>b</sup>.6 "like killing a brahman", the sociative is dependent on *uti*.

On the 6th form as a conjunctive participle see § 130 note.

128 7 is used in much the same way as 6, less frequently as 5. It is rarely found. It may be

a. a relative participle. *toyu berān khako hmas* V<sup>2</sup> 45<sup>b</sup>.7 "on the body which was hit by the rays of the moon". *biko joḥāo vanaṃ* ib. 47<sup>a</sup>.7 "he took what was given, and went off". *abhyās yākva* C<sup>2</sup> 57 "one who studies" (= ∞ *yāk* C<sup>1</sup> 56). "dead" is in a few cases *sikwo* besides the usual *sik*.

b. a verbal noun. *karmm yāko nisphal* P 18<sup>a</sup>.1 "performing the rite is fruitless".

c. very rarely it is used predicatively, e. g. *jambuk sikva* H<sup>1</sup> 74<sup>b</sup>.3 "the gazelle died".

129 8 is an Infinitive of purpose, used mostly in connection with verbs of motion. *jinaṃ kāl vane* B 34.30 "I will go to obtain it". *rājānaṃ thava maṃtri koṭabār mahārāṇi bonakal choyāva samadhār yātaṃ* B 27.23 ff. "the king, having sent (someone) to make him fetch the minister, the kotwal, and the chief queen, took counsel with them".

130 9 is an adverbial participle, conveying the idea of a close connection between two verbal notions. *līva līva. bvāṇaṃ vaṇāva* H<sup>1</sup> 24<sup>a</sup>.3 "following him running". *je pās. boyakaṃ yaṇā* H<sup>1</sup> 24<sup>a</sup>.4 f. "they flew away with my snare" (lit. "carried away, making it fly").—In rare instances it is found with the meaning of a conjunctive participle

(mostly that of the V. class). *thathe bhārapaṃ. paṃkṣi-pani merarapaṃ. gr̥dh syātaṃ* H<sup>1</sup> 42<sup>b</sup>.2 "thinking so, the birds gathered and killed the vulture".

It is used in connection with *prasann juya. thva-pani ne-hmaṃ mvācakaṃ praśarnn juya māl* V<sup>1</sup> 58<sup>a</sup>.2 "will you be so kind as to revive these two".

Note. The 6th form may be used in the same way, though rarely. *rānt tam cāyā dhālaṃ* B 72.9 "the queen said angrily".

The 9th form of the causative is used as a kind of 131 modalis of the simplex: "so that . . . , in a way as to . . ." *hī lūyakaṃ dāyā* N 42<sup>b</sup>.6 "beating in such a way that blood flows" (lit. "... making bl. fl."). *khayakaṃ* "openly", from *kha-l* "to shine".—Frequently with *ma: ma seyakaṃ* "without his knowledge" (lit. "making him not know it"); *sunānaṃ ma khanakaṃ* "without anyone seeing it"; *ma dayakaṃ* means "without".—E. g. *ma seyakaṃ misake bitt kāya* N 41<sup>b</sup>.4 "to take the property from a man w. h. kn."

10 does not differ in meaning from 9. *besya onaṃ* V<sup>2</sup> 132 49<sup>a</sup>.3 "he flew away". *tam cāsyam dhāra* H<sup>1</sup> 42<sup>b</sup>.5 "he said angrily".—*thvate sesyam. matimān paṇḍitan thava svasthān tor-te ma teva* ib. 75<sup>b</sup>.5 f. "a wise paṇḍit must not leave his abode when he knows this".—With *ma: ma ṇesyam vanaṃ* V<sup>1</sup> 76<sup>a</sup>.5 "he went away without hearing it". *laṃkha ma tosyam* H<sup>2</sup> 51<sup>a</sup>.3 "without drinking water".—The form in *-naṃ* is a concessive, *khaṃsēnaṃ* "though he sees".

11 is a conjunctive participle, "as, when". *mṛg 133 cha-hma rāṇāva . . . vare. tava-dhik phā cha-hma khaṇaṃ* H<sup>1</sup> 72<sup>b</sup>.5 "as he went along, having caught a gazelle, he beheld a big boar". *li-hā varen. brāhmaṇ cha-hma nāpa rātaṃ* V<sup>2</sup> 33<sup>b</sup>.4 "as he returned, he came upon a br".

- 134 12 is a conjunctive participle with the meaning "while, as long as". *mvā-mvā* C<sup>1</sup> 284 "as long as he is alive" (= *mvā-mvām* C<sup>2</sup>). *thathye co-coṃ* M 35<sup>a</sup>.8 "under these circumstances".

B. Forms from the longer base.

- 135 1 is a Conditional. *cha yarasā. jen chu opāyanam yanye* V<sup>2</sup> 74<sup>b</sup>.7 "if you wish it, I will carry (you) away in some way or another". *jen bhasm rakṣā ma yātasā. chan gathe mvācake* V<sup>2</sup> 17<sup>b</sup>.3 "unless I had guarded her ashes, how would you have revived her?" (Irrealis).—*lā* may be added after pronouns and pronominal adverbs, e. g. *āva lā kālasā. thva jukva nāyo* B 77.20 "if you take it now, accept only this".
- 136 2 is a Concessive. *brāhmanan liva liva. sā khusyam jvaṇa harasanvam. dān kāsyam hara dhāyuvā* H<sup>1</sup> 17<sup>a</sup>.2 "a brahman, even though he takes a cow with him, stealing it, will afterwards say that he has accepted it as a gift". *tā-kār honā conasām. cha hnuyā dinas bijog juya māl* M 29<sup>b</sup>.1 "even if they live together for a long time, some day they must be separated".—*yathē* may be added: *yathe selasanaṃ* V<sup>1</sup> 44<sup>a</sup>.2 "even if he knows it".
- 137 A double concessive is found in disjunctive clauses. *chī hñapā lātasām. jī hñapā lātasām. thva deś bāhirīs coṇ pauwās muḥāva vane* B 28.10 ff. "whether you come first, or I come first, we will meet at the watering-place outside the town".
- Note. *thava prāṇ molasām. tha mola* V<sup>1</sup> 60<sup>b</sup>.5 "if my life is to be lost, then let it be lost".—*gana vanasanvam* C<sup>1</sup> 45 "wherever he goes".
- 138 3 is a conjunctive participle meaning "when; at the time, at the moment". *nadīs lukum bilaṇṣyam. nagal*

*cha-gulī thenam* V<sup>1</sup> 92<sup>b</sup>.6 f. "when (or "the moment) he dived into the river, he came to a town". *si-ghālī polāva soraṇā-syam. atī bhīṇ kāpar cha tvāk khanaṃ* B 20.25 f. "when he had unlocked the wooden box, and looked into it, he beheld a bundle of fine cloth".

4 means "when; as, since; if (only)". *sakale syātanās. 139 piṇḍ thava ma dayu* B 136.4 "when they kill all (of us), nobody will exist who can place the funeral ball". *thva bidyā datanās. jhijhīs chuyā bhay* ib. 129.26 "since we have this knowledge, of what are we in danger?" *dhanabant julaṇās. samast lokanam māny yāyuvā* H<sup>2</sup> 49<sup>a</sup>.7 f. "if only he is wealthy, all people will honour him".

5 has much the same meaning as 4. *thva dhu mvātaṇāva. 140 jhijhī bāyuvā julo* B 130.5 "when the tiger comes alive, we shall have to separate". *je molaṇāva. che the-lu coṇva thukā* V<sup>1</sup> 18<sup>a</sup>.6 "when (or "if only) I am dead, you will certainly stay here".

6 is a Causal, meaning "because". *bāpan. hmo biyam 141 samarth. tal biyam samarth juraṇān. bisyam takon lu daṃja māl* N 38<sup>b</sup>.4 "one must be content with what is given by the father, because he has the right to give less, or to give more".—*misyam biśvāsan sesyam tā ma hlāraṇān. rājān vuṃ hnuyāya teva* N 16<sup>b</sup>.6 "if a man does not return what has been entrusted to him, then the king shall punish him for it" (lit. "for not returning...").

7. I will give a few examples of this somewhat dubious 142 form. *mṛgava cha hñavane nāpa rātasyam. chanaṃ. kul śīr ma seva* H<sup>1</sup> 43<sup>a</sup>.2 "when you first met with the gazelle, it did not know your family and character" (for *rātaṇṣyam*?). *ma ṇenasē* Vi 111.25 "without hearing" (= *ma ṇesēm*).

## C. Compounded Forms.

- 143 1, 2, and 3 are Imperatives; more polite, it would seem, than A 2. *bi-hñān* "give!" (V<sup>1</sup> 123<sup>a</sup>.2 = *biya mār* V<sup>2</sup> 73<sup>a</sup>.3). —*di-sane* from *diya* "to please" forms deferential imperatives, e. g. *āhār dava thyam yāṇam disane* H<sup>1</sup> 80<sup>b</sup>.5 "act, please, as if food existed".

Note. *hñān* occurs independently in *nāpa rāya hnām* (modern form) "let us go" B 28.16.

- 144 4 is a conjunctive participle with the meaning "as long as, while". But mostly it is used with *ma* in the sense "until". *ji puruṣan . . . ji hñel oyāo co-taren. jita tor-tāo ona* Vi 107.28 f. "my husband left me, while I was asleep". *o li-hā ma va-tolen. chal-polasake. sīse taya* V<sup>1</sup> 80<sup>b</sup>.4 "I will entrust her (to you), until (her husband) comes back".

- 145 5 means "as soon as, immediately after". *bālak jāt juvas-tunum. kumār kumār dhaka dhāram* M 4<sup>a</sup>.5 "as soon as the child was born, they said: a boy, a boy!"

- 146 6 means "when, if". *bastu miṣyam haṇṇāva. mul birañās. ma kā-kāle. ma kāvas doṣaṇ tu jurom* N 24<sup>a</sup>.6 "when an object is sold, and the price is not accepted, when it is given, the damage is his that has not accepted".

- 147 7 means "while, as long as". *mām dvā-vala* N 38<sup>a</sup>.9 "as long as the mother is alive" (lit. "exists").—See also § 197,2.

- 148 8. Examples of intensives: *hotu holē* "to strew about in all directions", *ketu kelē* "to grind vehemently". *sātu sālañāsyam* B 29.15 "however hard they pulled at her".

- 149 About the forms, mentioned in § 104, the following may be said: Forms like *yāta-gwo* are found only with the

1st person as subject, with the meaning of the 1st form in -o. *thvayāke naya ma yala-go* V<sup>1</sup> 26<sup>a</sup>.5 "I do not want to eat in his house". *āva nī beṣyā bṛtti tol-tala-go* ib. 121<sup>a</sup>.4 f. "now I shall give up the life of a courtesan".—The form in -ayo is synonymous with the 1st form. *je hnās dhenayo* H<sup>2</sup> 63<sup>b</sup>.3 "he has cut off my nose". *vaya dhunayo* B 28.28 "(I) have come".—*com-gwo* is used attributively and predicatively like *coñ*.

Examples of the root as a verbal form. *phā* B 30.20 150 "he cut off" (= *phālam*), *co* V<sup>1</sup> 36<sup>b</sup>.3 "stay!" (= *coño*), *ji ju* Vi 36.15 "I am" (= *juyā*), *co-hma* C<sup>1</sup> 290 "staying" (= *coñ-hma*), *ma sī nayāva* V<sup>1</sup> 76<sup>a</sup>.3 "eating without knowing" (= *sisēm*).

Note. Some of these forms may be errors.

Finally we may mention some forms from N with the 151 particle *vum*. *cānas khuṇn khusyam yañyā* *vum* 22<sup>b</sup>.1 "if a thief carries away something, stealing it during the night". *comko* *vum* 42<sup>a</sup>.1 "if he lives". *saṃbandh yā-kāle* *vum* 31<sup>a</sup>.1 "though he has intercourse . . .".

On verbal forms with postpositions see § 197—199.

## The Auxiliaries and the Periphrastic Forms of the Verb.

About the Use of the Auxiliaries the following may 152 be noted.

The verbs *daya*, *khaya*, *phaya*, *teya*, *juya* frequently use the 1st form with the meaning of a present, especially after *ma*. *je julo* may mean "I am, I become"; *ma phato* "I cannot" B 79.4, but 80.18 *ma phayā* id.—The form in -o of the said verbs is frequently found with the 3rd person.—The form in -e (§ 110 a) is found only after *ma*, by preference with the 1st or 2nd person as subject; e. g. *chī*

*thana diya ma tele* B 90.25 “you must not stay here”. *jule* is rarely found.—The commonest negative forms of *daya*, *khaya*, *phaya* are the short form *du*, *khu*, *phu* with *ma*; likewise *te*, *tewo* from *teya*.—The other forms have the usual meaning.

With other verbs the auxiliaries are mostly constructed with the 4th form; for further details see below.—*daya* with the genitive means “to have”, see § 26 g.

- 153 As a copula are used forms of *khaya* (*khava*, *khato*, *kha*, *khe*). But mostly the copula is not expressed; when in such cases a pronoun is the subject, it is frequently placed at the end of the sentence (for an example see § 126 d γ note); sometimes the adverbs *thukā* has the force of a copula, e. g. *āmo chan puruṣ ji kijā thukā* B 122.2 “this husband of yours is my brother”.—When “is” means “exists”, it is expressed by forms from *daya*, which are rarely omitted.

- 154 By combining the auxiliaries, and certain other verbs, with various forms of a verb many shades of meaning, both modal and temporal, are expressed; I shall call such combinations periphrastic forms.—Note that the periphrastic forms of transitive verbs are treated as transitive, those of intransitive verbs as intransitive, no matter whether the auxiliary verb itself is transitive or intransitive.

- 155 The principal Periphrastic Forms are formed by means of *daya* “to be, to exist” with the 4th or 6th form.

a. with the 4th form it means “to be possible”. *thathim-gva māny kāya gana dayiva* H<sup>2</sup> 52<sup>a</sup>.1 “where will it be possible to obtain such honour?”—*cha-pani jin khane dayakaṃ ola* Vi 36.4 “you came into the range of my vision” (lit. “(you) came making it possible for me to see you”).

b. with the 6th form it expresses the result of an action. *āmo sijal-patis cosyaṃ tayā du* B 82.9 “it is noted down on this copper-plate” (lit. “it exists as noted down...”). *thva mocā jinaṃ syāñā datasā* ib. 44.17 “if I have killed this boy”.

*khaya* “to be” expresses “certainly, really”. *syāta khava* 156 B 135.24 “he has certainly killed him”. *je prān lenake khatasā. thva caul jetaṃ biya māl* V<sup>1</sup> 131<sup>b</sup>.4 “if my life really is to be spared, (you) must give me this robber”.—The short forms *kha*, *khe* etc. are found after most predicative forms of the verb as affirmative particles. See also § 209.211.

*juya* “to be, to become” may be constructed with various 157 forms of a verb.

a. with the 3rd form. *je abasyanaṃ syāyiva julo* B 135.31 “it has come to this, that he certainly will kill me”. *thu ku-hnu nisyaṃ hnithanaṃ vaniva julo* ib. 56.18 f. “from this day (it came to this, that) he went there every day”.

b. with the 4th form. *mitr seya juraṃ āpadās* H<sup>1</sup> 45<sup>a</sup>.4 “in times of distress you will come to know your friends”.—In conditional clauses. *jeta ihipā yāñāo biya jurasā. meba jāṃ ma yao* Ś 160<sup>a</sup>.7 “if someone is to be given me in marriage, I don’t want anybody else”. *jin j-sāṃ. cha-panita himsā yāya jurasā. cha-pani dakwoṃ... kṣaṇamātranaṃ. bhakṣ yāyaṃ phayā* Vi 118.12 ff. “if it were so that I would hurt you, I could (lit. can) eat all of you in a moment”.

c. the 5th form with the 1st form of *juya* has the meaning of a 1st form. *syāk julo = syātaṃ* “he killed”. This expression becomes more frequent in the younger MSS.

d. the 6th form with *julasā(ṇ)* may be used in N with the meaning of a simple conditional or concessive.

e. with the 6th, 8th, 9th, 10th form, and the conjunctive participle in *-āwo* (§ 127 b) *juya* forms a kind of inchoative. *lok samastaṃ ken julam V<sup>1</sup> 119<sup>b</sup>.5* "he began telling it to everyone". *ghaṇṭh mārak cha-hmasen kāyāva. thānāva julam H<sup>3</sup> 30<sup>b</sup>.3* "a monkey took the bell, and started to ring it".

- 158 *teya* "to be proper" has the meaning "must, shall" with the 4th form. With *ma* (usually in the form *te*, *tewo*, rarely *telo*, *tele*) it forms negative imperatives. *thva kāya teva N 17<sup>a</sup>.5* "this must be accepted". *thava rājy vane tela H<sup>3</sup> 62<sup>a</sup>.10* "(you) shall go to your country". *Subarṇṇareṣā jen thiya ma teva H<sup>2</sup> 61<sup>b</sup>.5* "I must not touch Suvarṇarekhā". — *bās biya ma te* "don't give shelter". *āon li nāg mocake ma teo V<sup>2</sup> 79<sup>a</sup>.7* "don't kill the Nāgas from now on".

- 159 *mālē* (younger also *mvālē*) "to be necessary" has the meaning "must, shall, may" (optative) with the 4th form. The negative 5th form (mostly *mu māl*, rarely *ma ∞*) forms a polite negative imperative. *sadākāraṃ saṃcay yāya mār H<sup>1</sup> 72<sup>a</sup>.3* "you may always collect (riches)". *chan chāy. cet ma pacula dhakaṃ kane mār V<sup>2</sup> 50<sup>a</sup>.7 f.* "would you tell (me) why you are alarmed". — *lās cāya mu māl V<sup>1</sup> 33<sup>a</sup>.4* "don't lose courage!"

- 160 *tenē*, *tanē* with the 4th form has the meaning "to be about to...". *mṛtak jone tenāṇasyaṃ mṛtak thā-hā vana V<sup>2</sup> 4<sup>b</sup>.4* "when he was about to grasp the corpse, it rose higher". — Also "will". *chal-por gana biya teṇā Vi 37.27* "whither will you fly?"

- 161 *taya* "to do" is used with the 9th or 10th form, less frequently the conj. part. in *-āwo*, mostly, it would seem, without any change of meaning. *hmāca. ādaran. rakṣā yāṇa tala V<sup>2</sup> 21<sup>a</sup>.4 f.* "he protected the girl with reverence"

(= *hmyāca ādalan. rakṣā yātaṃ V<sup>1</sup> 32<sup>b</sup>.3*). *jin āma-li bay biyāva taya ma phayā H<sup>3</sup> 47<sup>a</sup>.6* "I cannot give such an amount". — Sometimes it seems to emphasize that an action is completed. *cesyaṃ tayā kāpare H<sup>1</sup> 95<sup>a</sup>.2* "the tortoise, which had been fettered". *Nabarātṇ dh-ṇ rājān nām chu-ṇaṇ talaṃ B 140.14 f.* "the king had given him the name of Navaratna".

*dhunē* "to finish" forms a perfect. *mām vaya dhuno 162 B 48.22* "mother has come". *samudr pār yāya dhunaṇāva. nām chu prayoṇ C<sup>2</sup> 43* "when the ocean has been crossed, what is the use of a ship". *āma kha jin siya dhuna V<sup>2</sup> 30<sup>a</sup>.5* "this tale I have learnt".

Note. The form *dhunakāwo* is used with the meaning of the simplex, always without a subject.

*conē* "to stay, to sit" with the 9th or 10th form, less frequently the conj. part. in *-āwo* has the meaning

a. of a durative. *basarapaṃ coṇ* "he lives there (always)". *thva samastaṃ bṛtlāntaṃ sosyaṃ coṇ. Laghupatanak H<sup>1</sup> 32<sup>a</sup>.4* "L., who was watching these events".

b. of a descriptive perfect. *jhijīs gaḍh tayāo conaṃ H<sup>2</sup> 84<sup>a</sup>.1* "our fortress is built". *khātā talas surāva conaṃ ib. 80<sup>b</sup>.7* "he was hidden under the bed".

*biya* "to give" and *tā-thē* "to leave", constructed like *164 conē*, indicates that an action is done for or against a person. *deneyātaṃ. cha kothās. lāsā lāyāvo bilaṃ V<sup>1</sup> 130<sup>b</sup>.3 f.* "he prepared in a room a bed for him to sleep upon". — *ma orasā. sāstī yāṇāo tāthya Ś 149<sup>a</sup>.1* "unless you come, I will punish you".

*haya* "to bring", and *yanē* "to lead away" may denote, *165* a motion towards, or away from the subject. *he strī thanā vā*



*dhakaṃ. sal-taṃ halaṃ* V<sup>1</sup> 95<sup>a</sup>.6 “he called her to him with the words: come here”.—“To steal” is frequently *khusēṃ yanē*.

With the 12th form *yanē* denotes that an action is done repeatedly: *to-to yanē* “to drink repeatedly” (Vd 52<sup>b</sup>.6).

- 166 *woya* “to come”, and *wonē* “to go” may denote that an action has been done “just now”. *sabaran dhāva tāsyaṃ vayā* H<sup>1</sup> 82<sup>a</sup>.4 “I have just heard what the mountaineer said”.

Note. Rarely found are *sanē* and *hanē*. *sanē* is used in the same way as *conē*, especially in N.—*hanē* seems to be used without any change of meaning, e. g. *bo dasyaṃ hana-sāṃ. agni śītal ma juva* H<sup>2</sup> 39<sup>a</sup>.2 “even though it is extinguished, the fire does not become cold”. Here *data-sāṃ* would mean the same.

## ADJECTIVES

### Form of the Adjectives.

- 167 The bulk of Newārī adjectives have characteristic endings, mostly identical with or related to those of the verbal forms which may be used as relative participles. Few are without an ending. Of derivative and compound adjectives only a few occur.

- 168 a. Adjectives with verbal endings. *bhiñ* “good”, *gañ* “dry”; *kvāk* “hot”; *jawo* “right”, *khawo* “left”; *ēkwo* “agreeable”; *toyu* (also *toyuwo*, *toyi*, *toyiwo*) “white”.—For *bhiñ* there are alternative forms *bhiṃ*, *bhiṃ-hma*, *bhiṃ-gwo*; for *gañ*, *gaṃ-gwo* (cf. *com-gwo* § 104). “ripe” is *hneṃ-gwo*, later *hniṃ-gu*.

b. adjectives in *-u* (cf. the 5th form of the V. class of verbs). *cāku* “sweet”, *jhyātu* “heavy, important”, *lumu* “hot”, *hmāsu* “yellow”.—A frequent ending is *-ñu*, for

which the later language has *-u(ṃ)*; cf. § 10 c. *yāñu* : *yā'u(ṃ)* “light”, *hyāñu* : *hyā'u(ṃ)* “red”, *khiñu* : *khi'u(ṃ)* “dark”. To some of these later forms *-k* may be added, e. g. *hyā'uk*.—In the older MSS there occurs a few instances of *-wo*, *-o* for *-u*, e. g. *thākwō* “difficult” in H<sup>1</sup> for the usual *thāku*, *jhyāto* for *jhyātu*.

c. adjectives in *-a* or *-i*. *hoya* “mad”, *khvāca* (younger *khvāya*) “deaf”, *hnula* “new”, *dhusi* “hunch-backed”, *bahili* “barren”.

d. without an ending we find *tosan* “poor” (loan-word?).

Adjectives may be derived from verbs by means of the 169 ending *-pu*; e. g. *hñāyā-pu* “flat, even” from *hñā-l* “to become alike”, *nayā-pu* “wasteful” from *na-l* “to consume”, *karuṇā cāyā-pu* “piteous” from *karuṇā cā-l* “to feel compassion”; *ñālā-pu* “ashamed” is of the same kind, though the verb is lacking.—A *-k* may be added, e. g. *nayā-puk*.

The only adjective derived from a noun, seems to be *celu* “briny” from *ci* “salt”.

Compound adjectives are *tawo-ji* “excellent”, lit. “of 170 a grand sort”; *je-hlāk* “proud”, lit. “saying I”. A possessive compound (*bahuvrīhi*) is *tawo-khvāc-hma* “the one with large footprints”.—Here may be mentioned the combinations of *tawo* “great”, *ciku* “small” with *-dhañ*, *-dhik*, *-dhāy* of uncertain origin. *tawo-dhañ*, *ciku-dhik* etc. with the same meaning as the simple adjective.

The generic particles *-hma*, *-gu*, *-guli* are rarely added 171 to adjectives of Newārī origin; it would seem never to those in *-u* and *-i*; but they are frequently found with loan-words. After *lyāca* “young” is sometimes found *-hmo*, *-mo* for *-hma*.

- 172 The loan-words have preserved the original difference between masculine and feminine forms, though they are not always used in the proper way (cf. B 116.28 *sundar* f. "beautiful", V<sup>1</sup> 11<sup>a</sup>.5 *bilahinī* m. "longing").—Only one Newārī adjective has different forms for these two genders, viz. the word for "young". The masculine form is *lyāca*, younger *lyāya*; the feminine form *lyāsē*.

Note. It seems that originally synonymous forms have been utilized for this differentiation after the analogy of the loan-word *jyāth* m., *jithi* f. "old".

- 173 The adjectives are usually placed before the noun, only loan-words may come after it, e. g. *kutinī jithi cha-hma-syenam* B 131.18 "an old procuress".—The adjectives do not correspond with the noun, but when an adjective is placed after a noun, the case- and number-endings are added to the adjective (cf. § 36).
- 174 Adjectives may be used substantivally without change of form. Then they are inflected like nouns; e. g. *jithin dhālam* B 131.26 "the old woman said".—The plural ending is always *-pani*.
- 175 Adjectives may be used as abstract nouns. *pālu* is "acid" and "acidity", *pyās-cāwo* "thirsty" and "thirst", *nālā-pu* "ashamed" and "shame". E. g. *pya-tyāk pyas-cāva-gulinam* M 10<sup>b</sup>.5 f. "through hunger and thirst".

#### Verbal Forms from Adjectival Bases.

- 176 The bases of the adjectives in *-ñ* and *-k* (but it would seem, not of those in *-wo*) are used as verbal bases of the I. and II. classes. Thus e. g. *bhi-n* "to be good", *ga-n* "to be dry", *kvā-t* "to be hot". Some of the forms found: *bhinē*, *bhināñās*, *bhi-tole*; *ganiwo*, *gañāwo*; *kvāñāwo*, *kvācākē*.

Note. *tā-hāwo* "high" seems to form a causative *tā-hāyakē*, but these are only later forms for *tā-hāk* and *tā-hācākē*.

The adjectives in *-u*, including those in *-yu* may be 177 used as verbal bases, sometimes changing the *-u* into *-a*. They take the following endings.

*-lam*, *-lo*. *pāculam* "is composed"; *khi'uro* Š 156<sup>a</sup>.6 "is empty".

*-yu* with *-a* before it. *cikayu* "becomes cold" from *ciku*; *jhyātayu* "becomes important" from *jhyātu*.—But Vd 9<sup>b</sup>.6 *bhoyuyu* "becomes grey".

*-sēm*, mostly with *-u* before it; *-ñu* always becomes *-ña*, but the later forms in *-u* retain the *-u*. *ecusēm* "becoming clear"; *jhyātusēm* or *-tasēm* "becoming heavy"; *khiñāsēm* "becoming dark", but *yā'uñsēm* "becoming light"; *toyusēm* or *toyisēm* "becoming white".—This form is mostly used with *wonē* or *woya* in the sense "to become" ...; e. g. *borusyam vanaṃ* C<sup>1</sup> 199 "it becomes muddy".

Note. Once we find *hyāñam* for *hyāñāsēm* (Vd 38<sup>a</sup>.8).

*-yāwo*. *lumuyāwo* "becoming hot"; *kyātuyāwo* "becoming tender"; *toyiyāwo* "becoming white".—This form is used in the same way as that in *-sēm*. E. g. *lumuyāvā valam* M 4<sup>a</sup>.2 "it became hot" (cf. ib. *śītal juyāva valam* "it became cool" from a loan-word).—In a few instances other forms are found: *khvāñāñāsēm* "when it became warm"; *nāyi-tole* "as long as it is soft".

Not infrequently a causative occurs. *jhyātukē* or *-takē* "to make heavy"; *hyāñakē* or *hyāñukē* "to make red", *nāyikē* "to make soft".—An irregular form is *hyāñucakē* Vd 22<sup>a</sup>.6.

Note 1. Such forms are formed, too, from *sidhu* "secure", a loan-word from Sa. *siddha* with a Newārī ending, e. g.

*sidhayu*, *sidhayakē* (rarely *-ddh-*). Rarely from other loan-words: *ajitrñayuvayā bhayan* H<sup>2</sup> 54<sup>b</sup>.4 “for fear that it might not be digested”.

Note 2. The modern forms in *-u(ṇ)* never change *-u* to *-a*.

On the Comparison of adjectives see § 215.

## ADVERBS

### Adverbs from Adjectives.

- 178 Adverbs derived from adjectives are rarely found. As such may be used the 9th form of the causative (cf. § 131). E. g. *bhinakaṃ* “well”, *jhyātukaṃ* “heavily”, *tā-pācakaṃ* “far away”; also *tā-pāle* id. E. g. *bhinakaṃ śebā yāṇa tayā rājā* H<sup>1</sup> 20<sup>a</sup>.4 f. “a king who has been well attended to”.—The adverb *sohmakeṃ*, later *sumukaṃ* “silently” will have been formed in the same way, though a corresponding adjective is not found. Others likewise derived no doubt from obsolete adjectives are the adverbs in *-hun*, like *bulu-hun* “slowly”, *musu-hun* “softly” (in ∞ *hñelē* “to smile”).

### Pronominal Adverbs.

- 179 They are derived from the same bases as the demonstrative and interrogative pronouns; in addition the bases *i*, *e*; *thi*, *the*; *gi*, *ge* are found. The bases with *i*, *e* are mostly used alone, the others mostly with one of the suffixes *-na*, *-thē*, *-khē*, *-kan*.—From a few of the bases and from the adverbs in *-na* may be formed a genitive, and an instrumental with the meaning of an ablative.
- 180 The base alone as an adverb. *thi*, *the* “her, hither”; *i*, *e* “there, thither”; *gi*, *ge* “where, whither?”. Rarely *tha* “then”.—Cases: *thiyā* “from here” (origin), *gen* “from where?” (starting-point); *thes* “in this case; there”.

With suffix *-na*. Adverbs of space and time. *thana* a. 181 “here, hither”; b. “then, thereon”. *ana* a. “there, thither”; b. “then”. *gana* “where? whither?” (not used of time; *gwobelas* “at what time?” takes its place).—*anan(aṃ)* a. “from there”; b. “thereupon”. *ganan(aṃ)* “from where?”.—*ganata* “where to? how far?”.

The use of the genitive may be illustrated by the following examples. *thanayā ācār* Vi 132.31 “the customs of this place”. *cha su. ganayā ganan vayā* H<sup>3</sup> 40<sup>a</sup>.2 f. “who are you, from where (are you), whence do you come?”

*gana-naṃ*, *gana-ṇ* “somewhere”; with *ma* “nowhere”. *melē gananaṃ* “from elsewhere”.

Rare forms are *inā* (V<sup>1</sup>), *thena*, *gena* = *i*, *the*, *ge*. Note *enān enā* N 12<sup>a</sup>.3 “to and fro”; *genānoṃ* “wherever it may be” (V<sup>1</sup> 47<sup>b</sup>.2 = *gana jurasana* V<sup>2</sup> 30<sup>b</sup>.4).

Note. Adverbs of space and time are also expressed by means of *thāy* “place”, *bel* “time”. *thwo thāyas* “at this place, here”. *thwo belas* “at this time; then”.

With suffix *-thē(ṇ)*. Adverbs of manner. *thathē* “so, in this way”; *athē* “so, in that way”; *āmathē* rarely, = *athē*; *gathē* “how?”—*thathē-tu*; *athē-tu*, *athēn-tu* “just in this, or that way”.—*thathēnaṃ*, *athēnaṃ* “even in this way; yet, still, nevertheless”. With *ma* “neither in this way”.—*gathēnaṃ* “in some way or other”; ∞ ... *ma* “in no way whatever”.

The form *-thēm* of the suffix is rarely found with these bases; but it is the usual form after *thwo*; *wo*, *u*; *thwoto*, *gwoto*, showing that it has here preserved its original independence as a postposition (see § 195). *va-thyaṃ yāya* H<sup>1</sup> 38<sup>a</sup>.3 “it might be done like that”.—*gwoto-thēm* is found

only in the phrase *gwoto-thēm dhālasā* “so it is said” = *Sa. tathā cōktam*.

- 183 The most frequent form is *u-thēm* in the sense “like, alike, in the same way”. *sukh duḥkh dhāyā-guli u-thēm thukā* Vi 163.5 “what are called luck and misfortune are alike”. With the sociative *banaba. cheva u-thyaṃ* C<sup>1</sup> 168 “a wood and a house are alike”.

- 184 To these forms may be added the verb *ñānē* “to be alike”. *Anaṃgasenāo u-thē ñaṇ makhā* V<sup>2</sup> 75<sup>b</sup>.5 “she is certainly like Anaṃgasenā”. *āma-thē ñaṇ rājā* H<sup>2</sup> 40<sup>a</sup>.4 “a king like him; such a king”.—*thathē ñanakam* = *thathē. thathē ñale* “under these circumstances”.

Note. Adverbs of manner may also be expressed by means of *prakār* “manner”; *thwo prakāran, thwote prakāran* “in this manner, so, thus”.

- 185 The suffixes *-khē, -kan* are rarely found. With *-khē* only *ukhē thukhē* “hither and thither”; with *-kan* only *āman* “here, hither”.

- 186 Other pronominal adverbs. *āwo* “now” (from the base *ā*, cf. *āmo*. *awo* is found in a few instances), *āwo-tole, āwonam hñā* “till now”, *āwonam li* “from now, henceforth”; *thwonam li, lithēm*, rarely *liwo, lis* “after this, thereupon”; *thanam li, wonam li, thathinam li*, and the irregular instrumental of *thwo*: *thwoyān* or *thwoyān li(wo)* id.—*thwolen* “therefore”.—*thwolas* “in this way”, *wolas* “in this case”; *thalam li, wolam li* “after this”; *wola-hnam* “at this time”, *gwola-hnam* “at what time?” (both in N only); *gwolanam* “at any time, always”, *∞ ... ma* “never”.

*thama-thē-thamanam*; *thama-thēm*; rarely *thawo-thē-thamanam* “of one’s own accord”.

*itā* “to the other side (of a river)”, *itās* “on the other side”, *thitā* “on or to this side”; *itā thitā* “on both sides”.

“so” before adjectives is expressed by means of the qualitative demonstratives (§ 60). *thathiṃ daridr* B 21.21 “so poor”. *thathī-gva sundali* V<sup>2</sup> 46<sup>b</sup>.7 “so beautiful” = *thathiṃ sundarī* V<sup>1</sup> 75<sup>a</sup>.2.—Note *thathiṃ-gwo* (not *-hma*); the literal meaning is “beautiful like that”.

*i* and *thi* are combined with verbal bases in the following way: *i-hā thi-hā joyu* N 12<sup>a</sup>.3 “he will go up and down” or “to and fro”. *yi-sār thi-sār yāñāva* Bh 133<sup>b</sup>.3 “dragging to and fro” (*sāl-* “to drag, to pull”). *thethe ann ādin. yi-bi thi-bi yāñam* H<sup>1</sup> 54<sup>a</sup>.1 “giving food and other things to each other” = *ann thithiṃ i-bil thi-bil yāñāva* H<sup>2</sup> 12<sup>b</sup>.4 (*bi-l* “to give”).

#### Non-pronominal Adverbs.

The most important are the following. *melē* “elsewhere”; 188 *thani* “to-day”, more frequently *thaniyā dinas, prasthābas* and the like, *thani-tole* “until to-day”, *thanin nisēm* “from to-day”. *hmeḡwo*, younger *hmigwo, hmiga* “yesterday”, *kanas, kahnas* “to-morrow”.—*tā* “a long time; far off”.—*bhati* “a moment”. *nanānam* “soon”.—*li-potas* “afterwards”. *asā, rarer āsā* “then, under these circumstances”. *hanwom, hanam* “again; further”. *twom, tu* “just, even”. *ni* (emphasizing). *jā* “after all”. *nāpam* “completely”.—*yathēnam* “nevertheless, however”. *mebanam* “otherwise”. *makhā* “certainly”. *thukā* (affirmative).—Some forms of *juya*, esp. *julasām* are used with the meaning “as for”, or merely as emphasizing particles, especially in the younger MSS.—Interrogative adverbs are *chān, chāy* “why?”

The following adverbs *hñā* “before”, *li* “after”; *kwo, ku* 189 “down”, *tha* “up”; *du* “into”, *pi* “out” are used in close

connection with verbs, forming a kind of looser compounds. *hñā hāya* “to go in advance”, *hñā luya* “to agree”; *li thenē* “to return”, *li phiya* “to overtake”; *kwo tinē* “to fall down”; *tha kāya* “to raise”; *du bvāya* “to leap into”, *du kāya* “to draw in; to admit, adopt”; *pi tinē* “to turn out”, *pi thanē* “to give away, to betray”.—Without change of meaning we find *li-ta*, *kwo-ta*, *tha-ta*, *du-ta*, *pi-ta*; and before verbs of motion *hñā-hā*, *li-hā*, *kwo-hā*, *thā-hā*, *du-hā*, *pi-hā*.

Note. *hā* in the last mentioned forms is identical with the root *hā-l* “to go, to move”; *du-hā woya* = *du hāsēm woya*.

- 190 From the adverbs in § 189 are derived others like *li-wonē* “behind”; *du-wonē* or *dunē* “inside”; *piwonē* or *pinē* “outside”; *hñāco* “before”; *lico* “later, afterwards”; *hñāpā* “first”, *lipā* “behind”; *lisēm* “behind” (motion).

Note. Some of the adverbs in §§ 189.190 are also used as postpositions. See next chapter.

### 191 Adverbs from Loan-words.

The instrumental case of many Sanskrit words is used as an adverb. *mātran* “only”; *niścayanaṃ* “certainly”; *kṣaṇamātranam* “a moment”; *atyantan* “very much”; *duḥkhanam* “unhappily”.—Less frequent are Sa. adverbs. *ati* or *atin(aṃ)* “very”, *sadā* or *sadān* “always”. *mahā* “great” is used as an adverb with the meaning “very”.

Pronouns with *kāraṇas*, rarely *kāraṇan*; *nimittin*; *hetun* are used instead of Newārī adverbs esp. in the younger MSS. E. g. *thwoyā kāraṇas* for *thwoten* “therefore”; *chu* or *chuyā nimittin* for *chu*, *chuyāta* “for what purpose, why?”; *chu hetun* for *chāy*, *chān* “for what reason, why?”. See also §§ 181 note, 184 note.

Adjectives may be formed from many adverbs, mostly 192 by means of the genitive-ending- *yā*. *āvayā thās* Bh 23<sup>a</sup>.4 “the present place”; *hñācoyā brāhmaṇ-panī* V<sup>1</sup> 26<sup>b</sup>.3 “the brahmans of before”, i. e. “the above mentioned br.”; *hñegvayā rā* H<sup>2</sup> 60<sup>a</sup>.3 “the meat from yesterday”; even *hñāṇ nisyaṃyā samast bṛttāntar-kha* B 98.6 “the events from the beginning”, lit. “of since before”.—Other adjectival forms are *piwonē-guli* “outer”; *hñawo* “first”; *piwo* “foremost”; *lithu* “the latter”, *hñathu* “the former”.

## POSTPOSITIONS

Besides the grammatical cases, postpositions are used to 193 express case-like relations of nouns. Verbal forms with postpositions are used as subordinate clause-equivalents like the conjunctive participles and other verbal forms.

Not a few of the postpositions are loan-words, mostly cases of foreign nouns.—A noun usually takes a case-ending before a postposition.

### Nouns with Postpositions.

#### 1. of Newārī origin.

194

a. with the genitive. *hñawonē* (also *hñāwonē*, *hñewonē*) “before, in the presence of”. *liwonē* “behind”, *liwonēn* “from behind”. *duwonē*, less frequently *dunē* “in the interior of, inside”. *piwonē*, rarely *pinē* “outside”. *bhin* “to” (*rājāyā bhin vayāva* H<sup>3</sup> 38<sup>b</sup>.9 “going to the king”). *hun*, *hunin* “on account of”.

b. with the instrumental. *kwo* “from . . . downwards”; *hñā* “before” (temporal). *tham* “from” (*hān tham* “from the root”). *pi* “out of”. *li* “after” (temporal); *liyā*, *lithan* id.

c. with the sociative. *nāpa* “together with”.

d. with the locative. *du* “into”.



e. with various cases. *liwo* with gen. or loc. "behind", with instr. "after" (temporal).—*lisēm* with gen. or loc. "behind", with the pure stem "along": *khusi lisēm* "along the river".—*dewonē* "outside, out of" with gen. or pure stem.—*kwos* "below, under"; also "near, in the vicinity of"; mostly with gen., rarer with pure stem.—*nisēm* "since" has before it the loc. or the pure stem, mostly with the particle *-am*: *thwo belas-am nisyam* M 39<sup>a</sup>.6 "since this time"; *thaniyā din-am nisyam* Vi 102.29 f. "since to-day". It is also found with the meaning "from": *naor-cāyā pvār-am niseṃ. sarppayā pvāratom* H<sup>2</sup> 101<sup>b</sup>.6 "from the hole of the ichneumon to that of the snake".

- 195 Another postposition is *thēm* "as, like". *kāy svaya mitr thyam* C<sup>1</sup> 87 "one must look upon a son as a friend". *thva-hma haṃsagaṇas bohor thyam* H<sup>1</sup> 71<sup>b</sup>.1 f. "he is like a crane amongst swans". Rarely with the genitive: *Palasūrā-mayā them* V<sup>1</sup> 110<sup>b</sup>.5 "like Paraśurāma"; but *bhatu-juyā thya. buddhi datasā* Ś 142<sup>b</sup>.6 "if (your) cleverness is like that of the parrot".—Forms of *ṇane* "to be like" may be added". *tapasvi thyam ṇanam* M 24<sup>a</sup>.5 "he was like an ascetic". *thēm ṇanakam*, more rarely *ṇanakāva = thēm*.—*thēm* is also used after adverbs, mostly with the genitive: *sadāyā thyam* "as always".

Note. Here we may mention the word *thiñ*, also *thiṃ*, *thiṃ-hma*, *thiṃ-gwo*, though properly speaking no postposition. *je-pani thiṃ* "people like us". *cha thiṃṇ sumitr* M 12<sup>b</sup>.2 "a friend like you". Note *Indrayā thiñ sampati* C<sup>1</sup> 139 "a fortune like that of Indra".

- 196 2. of foreign origin. *agras* "in front of, before (local)". *anusāran* "conformably to". *uparas* "for the sake of". *kāraṇas* "on account of". *dvālan* "through, by means of". *nimittin* (also *°ttan*, *°ttis*, *°tt*) "for the sake of". These

always take the genitive.—With the pure stem we find *talas* "under, below" (but also genitive: *lāsāyā talas* "under the couch" B 107.28). *patiṃ* "everywhere in, on" (*kacā patiṃ* "on every branch", *din patiṃ* "every day"). *bāhikan* "without". *sahit(an)* "together with".—Usually the genitive takes *bāhirīs* "outside"; *samīpas* "with, near; to"; *samip* "to". The two latter are mostly used deferentially with nouns denoting persons of high rank.—*binā* "without" is placed before a noun in the locative or instrumental case: *binā palādhas* V<sup>1</sup> 38<sup>b</sup>.3 "without justice".

Note. "without" is usually expressed by *ma dayakam* (§ 131). *rājā ma dayakam* "without a king". In a few cases *binā ... ma dayakam*.

#### Verbal Forms with Postpositions.

Of Newārī origin are *li*, *hñā*, *nisēm*, *thēm*.

197

1. *li* is constructed with various forms of the verb. Usually with the 10th form in *-sēm*, in a few instances *-sēn*; less frequently with the 9th form, mostly the alternative form in *-an*; rarely with the instrumental or sociative of the 6th form, or both combined: *-won*.—It is the usual way of expressing a temporal clause with "after".—*wosēm li* "after he had come". *ku tiṇam li* "after he has fallen down" C<sup>1</sup> 8 = *ko taṇan li* C<sup>2</sup>. *babu moyān li* "after the father had died" V<sup>2</sup> 55<sup>b</sup>.4 = *babu moyāvan li* V<sup>1</sup> 90<sup>b</sup>.4.

It also occurs in the sense "as, since". *chan jin dhāyā-gulī kha ma ṇesēm li. chao nāpa cone ma ēo* Vi 75<sup>b</sup>.3 f. "since you do not listen to the words I speak to you, I do not want to stay with you".

2. *hñā* after a form in *-wolam*, N *-wolan* (cf. § 103.7) means "before". *ma* is always added. *che ri ma hñā-varam* *hñā* H<sup>1</sup> 93<sup>b</sup>.3 "before he had returned to his home". *puru-*

*šavo ehe ma yā-valan hñā do mocā* N 38<sup>b.5</sup> “a girl, who is not yet married to a man” (lit. “a girl existing before she is . . .”). It may occur with other forms: *sury uday. ma juvan hñā* V<sup>1</sup> 44<sup>b.2</sup> f. “before the sun had risen”.—In N there also occurs a construction with B 6 (in *-añān*), and with *-kālen* (§ 103.6).

3. *nisēm* with the 10th form means “since, from the moment”. *je svāmi osya nisya jen. sunaṃ puruṣ ma kāyā* V<sup>2</sup> 74<sup>b.1</sup> “since my husband went away, I have received no man”.

4. *thēm* with the 5th and 6th forms expresses comparative clauses. *sukhaṃ ma cintarapā thyaṃ jāyapīva. daiban hayā thya* H<sup>1</sup> 74<sup>a.2</sup> “happiness does not arise as one expects, (but) as Fate sends it”. *rājān ājñā dayaku thē. jāca-kayā lā-hātis lao hlāya dhuno* Vi 69.9 f. “I have delivered you into the hands of the beggar, as the king had ordered it”.—With the 3rd or 4th form it means “as if”. *Kṛṣṇatvaṃ grāsarape thya vayāva* Bh 62<sup>a.7</sup> “coming as if he would devour Kṛṣṇa”.

Note. In P *nisēm* and *thēm* are used in a somewhat different way: *garbhas coṇ-guli nisyaṃ* “since his birth” 7<sup>a.5</sup>, *jāt juva thyaṃ* “as soon as he is born” 4<sup>a.1</sup>.

198 Postpositions of foreign origin. The three words *arthan*, *kāraṇas*, *nimittin* with the 4th form express final clauses, with the 5th and 6th forms causal clauses. The genitives of the said forms also occur.—*nāg rākṣalape arthan je coṇā* V<sup>2</sup> 79<sup>a.5</sup> “I am here, in order to protect the nāgas”. *pya-tyākayā kāraṇas pāpaṃ yāyīo* H<sup>2</sup> 108<sup>b.6</sup> “he will commit sins, because he is hungry”.—With the 3rd form the meaning may be causal, e. g. *je prān moyu arthan. thava bhochisaṃ prān mocakala* V<sup>2</sup> 29<sup>b.5</sup> “he destroyed the life of his family, because my life was going to be destroyed”.

It means “lest” in a sentence like: *ma ṇenīoyā nimittin thukā dhāya ma chāsyaṃ coṇā* Ś 147<sup>a.5</sup> “I was staying (here) not daring to speak, lest you might not listen to me”.

*belas* with various forms of the verb expresses temporal clauses. *thva sabaran thathya pās chusyaṃ tayā beras* H<sup>1</sup> 13<sup>b.2</sup> “when the savage had thus set up his snare”. *rājā-cā agniśaṃskār yāya dhakaṃ. tāl lāku belas* B 113.24 “while they were making preparations, (with the intention) to burn the prince”. The 6th form is preferred, where the 1st or 2nd person is the subject, e. g. *jī-pani banakrīdā oṇā belas* Vi 39.31 f. “when we were going out hunting”.—*jī caṇḍālayāta lava hlāyu belas* B 136.1 “when they are about to deliver me to the Caṇḍālas”. *bhojan yāya belas* ib. 131.31 “when he will eat . . .”.

Note. The postpositions of foreign origin, of which especially *belas* becomes more frequent in the younger MSS, form analytical representations of synthetical verbal forms. So the first three stand for the 4th form + *yāna* or the dative of this form (§ 122 c. 123 b), and for the instrumental of the 5th and 6th forms (§ 125 b. 127 a). *belas* stands for the 11th form and for the form B 3 (§ 133.138).

## CONJUNCTIONS

As will be seen from the foregoing sections, subordin- 200  
ate conjunctions are expressed by other means in Newārī. The only word which might with some justification be called thus, is *lā* when used with the conditional. See § 135.

The principal coordinating conjunctions are: *thwo-* 201  
*ten*, later *thutin* “therefore, consequently”.—*asā . . . asā* (rarely *āsā*) “either . . . or” connecting clauses. *asā sama-*

*stayā siras tayu. asā banas hāva svān thyam hanyū* H<sup>1</sup> 67<sup>a</sup> 2 f. "he (i. e. a wise man) will either be placed at the head of all, or he will wither like a flower, fallen off in a wood".—*tha jula . . . tha jula*, less frequently *tha khet . . . tha khet* "be it . . . be it". *guruyā strī tha jula. rājāyā strī tha jula . . . thva . . . mām dhāya* C<sup>1</sup> 20 "be it the wife of a guru, be it the wife of a king, . . . these may be called mother".

- 202 The most important one is *nwoṃ*, later *naṃ*, which is extremely frequent especially in the weakened form *-aṃ*, *-ṃ* (§ 11). It means "even, yet, still, but, also, and", but often its meaning is too subtle to be rendered in translation.—Examples may illustrate the use of it. *sakal pakṣi mīlay juyāva. je mocake tayār jura. jen-aṃ thava parākram keṇā* H<sup>2</sup> 75<sup>b</sup> 2 f. "all birds gathered and were ready to kill me; but I displayed my courage". *thana rātriyā samay juyāva thana-ṃ coṇ* B 56.26 f. "then when night came, he was still there". *jī-ṃ vane* B 29.22 "I, too, shall go". *rākṣasayāke ṇanaṃ. rākṣasan-aṃ dhālaṃ* ib. 153.17 "he asked the ogre; and the ogre said".—Frequently it is found twice, meaning "both . . . and" when it connects words. *dharma-noṃ a-dharma-noṃ* C<sup>2</sup> 2 "both justice and injustice". When connecting clauses, the meaning is something like "but, on the other hand". *van-aṃ dhāyā-ṃ jī kalāt. van-aṃ dhāyā-ṃ jī kalāt* B 68.27 "the one said: she is my wife, (but) the other: she is my wife". (Note that the conjunction here really occurs four times). With *ma* the meaning is "neither . . . nor". *jī juraṃ sita-ṃ ma khu. rogan-aṃ kala-ṃ ma khu* Vi 172.27 f. "I am neither dead, nor have I fallen ill". (See also § 6).—In *N uṃ*, *vuṃ* is frequently found for *nwoṃ*.

Note 1. Frequently "and" connecting words, or sentences, is not expressed at all; e. g. *hnas hnās* "the ear and the nose", *bā kāy* "father and son". The same is the case with "but",

for an example see § 197,4.—On "and" expressed by a double sociative see § 32.

Note 2. A kind of conjunction also is the phrase *chāy* or *chān dhālasā*, meaning "for", lit. "if (you) say why? (then I answer)".

## Additional Chapters on Syntax.

### Order of Words.

203

A Newārī sentence is always closed by the verb. The object usually has its place immediately before the verb; the subject precedes the object.—For the sake of emphasis other arrangements are found; e. g. *jī prabhu-ju thva mantrīn syālo* B 112.19 "my husband has been killed by this minister". *bibahār yāk. mahā jātrā yāṇaṃ* ib. 76.25 "they celebrated the marriage, arranging great festivities". *deb pūjā yāya bhaktan. ugrāban pujā yāya dānan* C<sup>1</sup> 90 "a God must be honoured by devotion, a servant by gifts".

### Compound Sentences.

204

A compound sentence consists of a main verb with subject and object, preceded by one or more adverbial or conjunctive participles, cases of a nominal form, or verbal forms with postpositions. Each of these subordinate forms may be constructed with subject and object like a finite verb, thus constituting a complete sentence, which is subordinated to the main clause by way of the suffix or case-ending of the verbal form, or the postposition, attached to it.—Examples: *rājān. prān lakṣalapeyātāṃ. kanyālatn bisyanaṃ. ma kāsyam. prāṇ tol-tava* V<sup>1</sup> 90<sup>a</sup> 2 f. "though this jewel of a girl was given him to protect his life, the king gave up his life, without accepting her". *thva jogi thava rājy vaṇāva. pi lā. cyā lā dasyam li thva rājānaṃ thava kalāt bone bhālapāva. saṃdes prades dayakāva. bonakal cho-*

*taṃ* B 100.21 ff. "when the yogin had gone to his country, the king decided to fetch his wife, after four, eight days had passed, and having given instructions and information, he sent to have her fetched".—More examples are found in the preceding chapters.

## 205 Attraction of the Subject.

When two or more verbal forms in a sentence have the same subject, it is mostly "attracted" by the first of these forms; e. g. *rājā krodh cāyāva dhālaṃ* V<sup>1</sup> 22<sup>a</sup>.2 "the king grew angry and said". Though the main verb is transitive, the subject is put in the nominative, because the first verb is intransitive.—More striking *rāṇi-cān kva sol vayāva* B 130.19 "the princess came to look down, and...". *dhūn naya-yāṇaṃ vava khañāva* ib. 24.9 "on seeing the tiger coming to eat him". *dhūn* is treated as subject to *naya-yāṇaṃ* "in order to eat" (the expression *dhūn... vava* is object to *khañāva* "on seeing"). See also above §§ 24. 122 cδ.—Even an object may be treated in the same way; e. g. *pē-hmasen hmi-tēkes talaṃ* Vi 151.14 f. "he appointed four persons to play with him". Here *pē-hmasen* is treated as agent to *hmi-tēke* (lit. "to cause to play"), though it is also object to *talaṃ*.

Note. Similarly *chen seya phava khe* V<sup>1</sup> 44<sup>a</sup>.1 "you can know".

—See also § 154.

## 206 Coordination for Subordination.

Not frequent. E. g. *puruṣ śito. kāy ma thval strī. dah kābasan* (MS *kāra*<sup>o</sup>). *posarape* N 39<sup>a</sup>.9 "when the husband is dead, the heir must support his childless wife". (lit. "the husband is dead. The heir..."). Notably the 3rd form is used in this way. *manuṣan. thava sahaj ma tol-tu.*

*lokan jhyātukaṃ yāyu. biparīt yāyu. thama yāñā phalan jayuva* H<sup>2</sup> 54<sup>b</sup>.3. "(when) a person does not depart from his innate nature, (when) he acts in a way that people honour him, (when) he acts badly, (then) he will fare according to the consequences he himself has brought about". (On *tol-tu* see § 100,3 note 1).

## Relative Clauses.

207

Though as a rule the nominal forms of the verb are used as relative clause-equivalents, relative clauses with the interrogative pronouns and pronominal adverbs functioning as relative pronouns are not infrequently found. The demonstrative (correlative) clause, which invariably follows the relative clause, usually opens with a demonstrative pronoun or pronominal adverb, corresponding in form to the relative pronoun.—To *su* mostly corresponds *wo-hma*, to *chu* *wo(-guli)*.—The relative clause prefers the 1st form of the verb in *-a*.

Examples: *gva-hma strīn putr jāyapayakara. thva-hma strī dhāya* H<sup>1</sup> 85<sup>a</sup>.1 "a wife that bears children, she must be called a true wife". *gva-hmayā buddhi dato. va-hma balabant dhāya* H<sup>2</sup> 66<sup>a</sup>.4 "who has wisdom, he must be called powerful". *gana chimisyaṃ hayā. ana tor-tāva lāthiva* B 89.23 f. "where you have fetched them, there you leave them!" *āo chan chu bāñchā yāñā. o-guli jin purṇ yāñāo biya* Vi 39.3 f. "what wish you have now, that I will grant you".

Less frequent are relative clauses with a nominal form or a conjunctive participle. *sunān lakṣ chī ṭaṃkā biya phava-hmaṃ. o-hmaṃ tu. thva beśyān kayu* V<sup>1</sup> 112<sup>a</sup>.4 f. "who is able to give a hundred thousand ṭaṅkas, him this courtesan will admit". *gva-hma puruṣan. thao ātmāyā.*

*parātmāyā. balābal svayāva. antar ma serañās. thva-hma bairin. ko tiniva* H<sup>2</sup> 75<sup>b</sup>.5 f. “if a man, on considering the relative strenght of himself and of others, does not understand the difference, this one the enemies will defeat”.

Two relative pronouns are found in cases like *gva-guli karmas gva-hma kuśal jula. va-hma va-guli karmas jojarape* H<sup>2</sup> 84<sup>b</sup>.8 “each one is to be appointed to the work for which he is fitted”.

## 208 Interrogative Sentences.

The particle of interrogation is *lā*. Its place is mostly at the end of the sentence after the verb. *jāgalapu lā* V<sup>1</sup> 36<sup>b</sup>.1 “are you awake?” *jen ma dhāyā rā* H<sup>1</sup> 46<sup>b</sup>.5 “did I not say?” Also *chanake lā ma dhāyā* V<sup>1</sup> 81<sup>a</sup>.5 “should (I) not tell you?”—In disjunctive questions we mostly find *lā... lā*, e. g. *jhijhista dām bisya hava lā. ma hava lā* B 21.6 f. “did he give us money, or did he not?” In longer sentences also *lā... asā lā*.

## 209 Dependent Questions.

Questions dependent on verbs signifying “to look, to inquire, to reflect, to doubt, to know not” have the following form. *mantr siddhī juyuva rā khas. soya* V<sup>1</sup> 93<sup>b</sup>.5 “I will see, if the incantation will be successful”. *thva bānin cho yāyu śas bhālapāva. guptan svayāva conaṃ* H<sup>2</sup> 47<sup>a</sup>.1 “the merchant was watching her secretly, doubting what she might do”. *jhijisen purb janmas chu pāp yāñāo ola khe ma siyā* Vi 102.6 f. “I do not know which sin we have committed in a former existence”.—In disjunctive questions of this kind *khas* etc. is wanting: *rājā ras tāva ma tāva svaya* H<sup>2</sup> 54<sup>b</sup>.8 “I will investigate whether the king is pleased or not”.

## Dependent Substantival Clauses.

210

Dependent clauses containing a statement, a question, a command, take the form of the oratio recta (§ 212). *jen upāy yāya thukā. dhakaṃ. pratijñā yāñāva* H<sup>2</sup> 77<sup>a</sup>.7 “having promised to find a remedy” (lit. “I will find a r., so he pr.”). *thva su dhakaṃ nanaṃ* B 126.19 “(she) asked who it was”. *chan thathiṃñ aiśvary jula dhaka jin ma siyā* Vi 84.14 f. “I did not know, that you had obtained such splendour”.

*dhakaṃ* may be wanting, especially before *siya* “to know”, *bhālapē* “to think”. Before *siya* may be found *kha* etc. (see § 110). *Satyaśilā sahaḡāmini onīna dhāo-guli bārtā* Vi 46.25 “the rumour that Satyaśilā was going to be burnt together with her husband”. *cha thathiṃñ pāpi kha. jin ma siyā* ib. 105.14 f. “I did not know that you were as bad as that”.—See also §§ 121 b γ. 124 b. 126 b.

**Final Clauses and Causal Clauses**, when containing a subjective motive or reason may be formed in the same way. *koṣubālan. khu khojalape dhakaṃ. deś bhramalapāva julaṃ* V<sup>1</sup> 20<sup>a</sup>.5 “the kotwal started to wander through the town, in order to (or with the intention to) search for the thief”. *rājāyā hukam ma du dhakāva ji ma vayā* B 56.25 f. “I am not coming, because there is no order from the king”.

## Reported Speech.

212

The only way of expressing reported speech or thought is by quoting the words actually spoken or thought, and connecting them with the principal verb by means of *dhakaṃ*, rarely *dhākaṃ*, *dhakāwo*. These are weakened forms of *dhāyakaṃ* (*dhāyakāwo*) “in a way as to say” (cf. § 131).—Examples: *thva jogi ma syātasā. ji siya julo dhakaṃ rānīn*



*dhāyāva* B 100.11 “unless you kill this yogin, I shall die. Thus spoke the queen, and . . .”. *chan putrī sundali khañāo. Dhumurākṣ rākṣasan. khusya yana dhakaṃ dhālaṃ* V<sup>2</sup> 34<sup>b</sup>.5 f. “on seeing that your daughter was beautiful, the ogre Dhūmrākṣa abducted her. Thus he spoke”.—*dhakaṃ* may be wanting. *bho strī chan gathya siyā dhāyāva* B 114.15 f. “oh woman, how do you know? he said and . . .”.

- 213 *dhakaṃ* may be used more independently in the sense, “saying so, thinking so”. *thva laṃkhaṃ guṇanaṃ khava dhakaṃ. laṃkha lvahaṃ-cāto jvañāva vanaṃ* B 86.6 f. “she took some water and pebbles, thinking that it happened so through some quality of the water”. Note the following instance: *thavata dhakaṃ kāsyāṃ tayā-hma. rāñī-cā* ib. 27.2 “the princess who had taken him thinking that it was for herself”.

Note. From a Newārī point of view there is no real difference between the instances quoted in §§ 212.213 and those in §§ 210.211.

#### 214 The Particle *he*.

By means of this particle (also *hen*, *ha*, *han*; cf. *han tenē* “to believe erroneously”) are formed expressions of irresolution in the following way. *o yāya he ma siyāva* V<sup>2</sup> 21<sup>b</sup>.6 “not knowing what to do”. *ana vane he ma siyāva* B 54.14 “not knowing where to go”. *bāp o hen-aṃ ma serañān* N 38<sup>b</sup>.7 “because he does not even know who is his father”.

#### 215 Comparison of Adjectives.

a. A comparative is expressed by means of *sinwoṃ*, later *sinaṃ*, rarely *siṃ*; in N mostly *pēnwoṃ*. It is constructed with the genitive. *prāñayā sinaṃ. jhyātu. hmyāca*

V<sup>1</sup> 54<sup>a</sup>.6 “a daughter more valuable than his life”. *Kubelayā dhanayā sinaṃ tava-dhani* ib. 34<sup>a</sup>.3 f. “richer than the riches of Kubera”.—Also antitaxis is found: *murkh juya bhiñ. phas-kha hlāya ma bhiñ* H<sup>2</sup> 39<sup>a</sup>.5 f. “it is better to be stupid than to tell lies”. (lit. “to be st. is good, to tell lies is not good”).

b. A superlative is expressed in the following way. *samastayā siṃ. barabant. daib* H<sup>1</sup> 31<sup>b</sup>.2 “Fate is the most powerful of all”. *suyā sinoṃ kutanīyā tava buddhi* V<sup>1</sup> 128<sup>b</sup>.6 “the cleverness of the procuress was the greatest of all”. (lit. “greater than that of anybody”).—It may also be like the positive. *sva-hmaṃs. suyā komal śaril* V<sup>1</sup> 73<sup>b</sup>.2 “whose body amongst the three is the most tender?”

Note. *sinwoṃ* alone means “more than, in a higher degree than”; e. g. *debalokayā sinaṃ nṛtyabidyā sava* V<sup>1</sup> 110<sup>b</sup>.4 “he knows the art of dancing better than the gods”.

#### Negation.

216

The particle of negation is *ma*, before *mālē* “to be necessary” mostly *mu*. *ma khu* is not infrequently found for it, especially after the predicative forms of the verbs. *jī satyan chanata kayakā ma khu* Vi 35.32 “I did not hit you on purpose”. *jī oya dhuno ma khu lā* Ś 166<sup>b</sup>.6 “have I not come?”—A litote: *je hnās ma daya ma pho* H<sup>2</sup> 64<sup>a</sup>.1 “it can’t be that I have no nose”, i. e. “I must have a nose”.—See also § 114 (negation of the causative) and § 158.159 (negative imperative).

#### Duplication.

217

a. The repetition of an adjective or a noun denotes indefinite plurality. *des des bhramalapaṃ* V<sup>1</sup> 30<sup>b</sup>.3 “roaming about in many countries”. *guṇīk guṇīk brāhman-pani* B 125.7 “all kinds of clever brahmans” or “the one clever br. after

the other".—Otherwise repetition mostly intensifies the meaning of a word. *hatā hatāsanam* "very eagerly, in a great hurry". *khosya khosyam* "weeping profusely". *dāyā dāyāo* Vi 160.11 "beating vehemently".—Of verbs sometimes only the base is repeated, e. g. *swo juk swoyā mātranam* ib. 98.11 f. "merely by looking" (Ed. erroneously *swoya*). *sva ni svaya* H<sup>2</sup> 60<sup>a</sup>.3 "I will certainly look".

b. As stated above in § 75, an indefinite relative pronoun is sometimes expressed by duplicating the relative pronoun; an example may illustrate this. *ganā ganā Śasi-prabhā vanā. anā anā o brāhmanaṃ nāpaṃ vanam* V<sup>1</sup> 78<sup>a</sup>.1 f. "wherever Śaśiprabhā went, there this brahman, too, went".

Note. The MS spells *ganā2* ... *anā2*, as frequently; e. g. *hatā2 sanam* Vi 18<sup>a</sup>.4 (= Ed. 34.16).

c. "each" is expressed by means of duplication. *hako hako* B 26.10 "each one that has been brought". *hñathva hñathva śreṣṭ* N 40<sup>b</sup>.6 "each preceding one is superior". *thva thva* "each of these". *thava thavas che* V<sup>1</sup> 53<sup>a</sup>.3 "each his own house". *thava thavan bay yāya māl* N 40<sup>a</sup>.5 "each must defray his own expenses".

## INDEX

- a**
- ablative, form 18, use 29, instrum. as abl. 30 d.  
accusative of effect 23 c.  
accusativus modalis 23 e.  
action in progress 124.124 c.  
adessive, locat. as ad. 28 a.  
adjective, plur. suffix 16 a, pronominal adj. 76, form of the adj. 167—170, derivative a. 169, compound a. 170, place of a. 173, a. used substantivally 174, a. from adverbs 192. — see adverb, gender, generic particle, verbal forms.  
adverb, from adjectives 178, pronominal a. 179—186, non-pron. a. 188-190, a. from loan-words 191.  
adverbial forms of the verb, Introd., 98. — adv. participle see participle.  
affirmative particle 156.  
"after", conjunction 197, 1.  
agential, form 18, use 24.25, instrument. as a. ib.  
allative, cas. indef. as a. 23 g, dative as a. 27 d, locat. as a. 28 c, directive as a. 33.  
anusvāra, 6, 10 b.
- article, definite 52, indef. 80.  
"as" conj. 133.139, "as if" 197.4, "as long as" 134. 144. 147, "as soon as" 123 e, 145.  
aspects of action Introd.  
aspirated consonants 9. 12.  
auxiliaries, form 109—111, use 152, form periphrastic forms 112. 154—166.
- b**
- bā*-, forms masc. 15.  
bases, of demonstr. pron. 49, of verbs 99 ff., of pron. adv. 179.  
"because", conj. 125 b. 141. — cf. causal clauses.  
"before" conj. 197, 2.  
*biya* as auxil. 164.
- c**
- cardinal numbers 77.  
case-endings, of nouns den. liv. beings Intr.; 18, place of c.-e. 36, Sanskrit c.-e. 22, and note.  
cases, form 18, use 23—34, double c. 35, of pronouns 55. 57. 62. 66. 72, of pron. adj. 76, of verbal forms 101 and (use) 123. 125. 127. 204. — cf. declension.

casus indefinitus 23.  
 causal clauses 125 b. 127 a. 198. 211.  
 causalis 102, 6.  
 causative, form 94. 95, and note.  
     96. 97, meaning 114, 9th form  
     of caus. 131, from adjectives  
     177, agent of c. 25.  
 classes of verb, I—IV 91, V 96.  
 class-words Introd.; 82.  
 comparative 215 a.  
 comparative clauses 197, 4.  
 comparison of adjectives 215.  
 completed action 117. 126. 161.  
 composition of nouns 14 e.  
 compounds Introd.; determin-  
     ative c. 14 c, synonymous c.  
     ib., obscured c. 14 note 1,  
     possessive c. 56 note. 170,  
     loose c. of adverbs and  
     verb 189.  
 concessive, form 102, 2, use 132.  
     136. 137.  
 conditional, form 102, 1, use 135.  
 conditional clauses 157 b.  
*conē*, as auxil. 163.  
 conjugation of the verb 105—107.  
 conjunctions, subordinating 200,  
     coordinating 201. 202.  
 consonants 2. 5, compound c.  
     8, changes of c. 10 b, c. —  
     see final.  
 coordination, for subordin. 206.  
 copula 153.  
 correlative clauses 207.

## d

dative, form 18, 4 use 27, d. of  
     verbal form 123 b, locative  
     with meaning of d. 28 e.  
*daya*, form 109—111, use 152.  
     153. 155.

declension, of nouns 20, of per-  
     son. pron. 41—45, of dem.  
     pron. 51, of numerals 81. —  
     see cases.  
 deferential, plur. of pron. as def.  
     sing. 39. — see imperative,  
     vocative; cf. term of respect.  
 demonstrative clause 207.  
 demonstrative pronoun, of near-  
     er object 49. 52, of remoter  
     object 49. 54, in relative sen-  
     tences 207. — see declension.  
 denominative 93. 96.  
 derivation of nouns 14 b.  
 derivative suffixes, of demonst.  
     pron. 49, of pronom. adverbs  
     179.  
*dhakam*, form 108 a, use 210—213.  
*dhunē* as auxil. 162.  
 dialect, forms from other d.  
     Introd.; 9 note.  
 diminutives 14 c.  
 diphthongs 4. 5.  
 directive, form 18, 9 use 33. 34,  
     d. from verbal form 123 f.  
     — see allative, object.  
 disjunctive clauses 137; d. ques-  
     tions 208. 209.  
 distributiva 86 b.  
 duplication 217.  
 durative 163 a.

## e

essivus, cas. ind. as e. 23 d.  
 exclusive plur. of 1st person 40.

## f

final *a*, *i* 7, f. consonants 8. 10 b.  
 final clauses 198. 211. — see  
     “in order to”.  
 finite verb, form 100, 1, use 115.

## i

117, 3rd form as f. v. 121 a;  
 finite forms of the verb 98.  
 “for the purpose of”, prepos.  
     27 c, conj. 123 b.  
 fractions 86 a.  
 future 120. 121 a β, subjective f.  
     122 a α; future action 117 b.  
     120, intention of a f. a.  
     122 a α.

## g

gender, no grammat. g. Introd.;  
     15, natural g. 15, g. of ad-  
     jectives 172.  
 generic particles Introd.; to  
     pronouns 50, to verbal  
     forms 101, to adjectives  
     171. — see *-hma*, *gu*, *-guli*,  
     *-gwo*.  
 genitive, form 18, 3, use 26, of  
     verbal forms 123 a. 125 a, of  
     adverbs 192, before postpos.  
     194 a. 196. — see locative,  
     possessive pron., subject.  
 gerundive 100, 4.  
*-gu*, *-guli* Introd.; 50. 54. 60. 68.  
     69. 80. 83. 101. 124 b. 171. —  
     see generic particle.  
*-gwo* Introd.; 60. 69. — cf. generic  
     particle.

## h

habitative 100, 3, 121 a α.  
 habitual action 120.  
*haya* as auxil. 165.  
*he* 214.  
*-hma* Introd.; 14 note 2. 50. 54.  
     60. 68. 69. 80. 83. 101. 171. —  
     cf. generic particle.  
 honorific pronoun 47. 50.  
*-hune* etc. 103. 143.

“if” 146, “if only” 139. 140. —  
     cf. conditional clause.  
 imperative, form 100, 2. 103, 1, 2, 3;  
     use 119. 143, deferential i.  
     143. negative i. 158. 159. —  
     cf. *-hune*.  
 inanimate objects 65. 76, i. o. and  
     living beings Introd.; nouns  
     denoting i. o., no plural 16,  
     use of directive 18. 34.  
 inchoative 157 e.  
 inclusive plural of 1st person  
     40. 45.  
 incompleted action 124.  
 indefinite pronoun 70, i. relative  
     75. 217 b. — see numeral for  
     “one”.  
 indefinite plurality 217 a.  
 inessive, locative as i. 28 a.  
 infinitive 100, 4. 122 c, i. of purpose  
     100, 8. 115. 122 c γ. 123 c. 129.  
     — cf. “in order to”.  
 inflection, by means of suffixes  
     Introd., i. of verb 98—113.  
 initial consonants 8.  
 “in order to” 122 c δ. — cf. infin.  
     of purpose.  
 instrumental, form 18, 7. 21, use  
     30, of verbal forms 123 c.  
     125 b. 127 a, i. as adverb 191,  
     before postpos. 194 b. — see  
     agential, ablative.  
 intensive, form 103, 8; use 148.  
 interrogative pronouns, place of  
     65, as relative pr. ib. 207, i.  
     adverbs 188, i. sentences  
     208.  
 intransitive verbs, subject of i. v.  
     23 a, periphrastic forms of  
     i. v. 154.

irregularities in inflection of verbs 108.

## j

*jiya*, auxil. 109. 110.

*juya*, auxil., form 109. 110, use 152. 157.

## k

*-kāle* 103. 146.

*khaya*, auxil., form 109—111, use 152. 153. 156. 209. 210. — cf. copula.

## l

*lā*, particle of interrogation 208, in conditional clauses 135. 200.

*-le*, *-li*, forms quantitative pronouns 59. 68. 71, 3.

living beings 57. 65. 83. 85; nouns denot. l. b., number 16, cases 18, 2, 3, 5, 9; directive 33. — see inanimate objects.

loan-words, spelling 2. 3, form of l.-w. 12, in synonymous compounds 14 c, generic forms of l.-w. 15 note, plural-suff. of l.-w. 16, l.-w. in verbal phrases 92 b, adjectives 171. 172, adverbs 191, postpositions 196. 198. 199. — cf. tatsama.

locative, form 18, 5; use 28, as partitive genitive 28 h, ablative for l. 29 c, l. of verbal forms 123 d, after postpos. 194 d. — see adessive, allative, dative, inessive.

## m

*mā-* forms feminines 15.

*mālē*, form 109. 110, use 159.

*-mi*, plural suffix 38. 43. modes of action Introd.

## n

Nāgarī. 1.

Naipālī. 1. 3.

narrative form 117 a.

nasalization 6. 9.

negation 216, of causative 114.

nomen actionis 124 c. 126 c.

nomen actoris 124 a γ. 128.

nominal forms of the verb

Introd.; 98, cases of n. f. 204.

nominative, form 18, 1; use 23. — cf. casus indefinitus.

nouns, primary n. 13, formed 14, n. ending in cons. 19.

number Introd.; 16. 17.

numerals 77, place of n. 79, n. for "one" 80, id. as indef. pronoun 74. — see declension.

numerical derivatives 87.

*nuyo* 122 c δ.

*-nwoṃ* forms indefinite pronouns 70—72. conj. 202.

## o

object, direct o. 27 b (dative). 33

(directive), indirect o. 27 a

(dative). 33 (directive), cog-

nate o. 23 h, place of o. 203.

— see transitive verb.

optative 122 a β. 159.

order of words 203.

ordinal numbers 77. 85.

## p

*-pani* plur. suffix 16 a. 38. 43. 51.

participles, plural of 16; ad-

verbial p., form 100, 9, 10, use

127 b β, 130. 204. — conjunctive

p., form 100, 11, 12. 102, 3, 4, 5,

use 115. 127 b α. 130. 133.

134. 138. 144. 204, in relat.

clauses 207. — conj. p. in

*-āwo* 127 b. 157 e. 161. 163. 164.

— relative p., form 100, 5, 6, 7;

use 115. 121 b. 122 b. 124 a.

126 a. 128 a, in relat. clauses

207.

passive voice Introd.

past 124 d β. 126 d β, conj. part.

of p. 127 b α, habitative of

p. 121 a α.

perfect 162, descriptive p. 163 b.

periphrastic forms of the verb

112. 154—166.

personal pronouns 37 ff., as subject or object 116. — see decl.

*phaya*, auxil., form 109. 110,

use 152.

plural 16. 17, of pers. pronouns

43—45, p. ending wanting

16.

possessive pronouns 48.

postpositions, with nouns 194—

196, with verbal forms 197

—199. 204, of foreign origin

196. 198. 199.

present 124 d α. 126 d α.

preverbs 92 a.

prosecutivus 30 b.

## q

qualitative pronouns 60.

quantitative pronouns 59.

questions, dependent qu. 209.

## r

reciprocal pronouns 64.

reduplication, of nouns 14 a, of

verbs 100, 12.

reflexive pronouns 62. 63.

relative clause-equivalents 115. 207.

relative clauses 207.

relative pronouns see interrogative pr.

repetition of words 217. — cf. duplication.

reported speech 212.

root as verbal form 104. 150.

## s

*-sakal* plur. ending 39. 44.

*-sane* 103. 143.

*sanē* as auxil. 166 note.

"self" 63.

sentences, compound s. 204.

sentence stress 11.

singular 16.

*sinwoṃ* 215. — cf. comparison of adjectives.

sociative, form 18, 8, use 31,

double s. 32, s. of verbal

forms 123 e. 127 b; before

postpos. 194 c.

sound changes 9. 10.

subject, of imperative 119, 4th

form as s. 122 c β, genitive

as subject 26 h, attraction of

s. 205. — see intrans. verbs.

subordinate clause-equivalents

115. 193.

substantival clauses 210.

superlative 215 b.

## t

*-tā*, suffix of pronouns 57, of numerals 83.

*tālhē* as auxil. 164.

tatsama 12, vocative of t. 22.

*taya* as auxil., form 110, use 161.

*tenē*, as auxil., form 109, use 160.

- temporal clauses 197. 199. — cf.  
 “as”, “when”, “while”, “till”.  
 terms of relationship 14 a, and  
 note 2.  
 terms of respect 17. 92 note.  
*teya*, auxil., form 109. 110, use 158.  
*-thē(ṃ)* forms adverbs of man-  
 ner 182.  
*-thi(ṃ)*, *-thiñ* forms qualitative  
 pronouns 60. 69.  
 “till”, conjunction 144.  
*-to*, *-ta* plural suffix 16 b.  
*-tole* 103. 144.  
 transitive verbs, agent of t. v. 24,  
 object of t. s, 23 b, periphr.  
 forms of t. v. 154.  
*-tunum* 103, 145.
- v
- verbal bases in adverbs 187.  
 verbal forms, from nouns 113,  
 from adjectival bases 176;  
 compound v. f. 103. 107, use  
 143—148. — see cases.  
 verbal nouns 115. 121 c. 122 c.  
 124 c. 126 c. 128 b.
- verbal phrases 92.  
 verbs, primary v. 91, derivated  
 v. 93. 94. compound v. 96.  
 — see classes.  
 vocative, deferential v. 22. —  
 see tatsama.  
 vowels 3. 5, nasalization of v. 9,  
 changes of v. 9, changes of  
 v. 10 a.
- w
- “when” 133. 138. 139. 146. — cf.  
 temporal clauses.  
 “while” 134. 144. 147. — cf.  
 temp. cl.  
 “without”, prepos. 131. 196 and  
 note.; conj. 132.  
*-wola* 103. 147.  
*wonē* as auxil. 166.  
*woya* as auxil. 166.
- y
- yāñam* 122 cδ. — cf. “in order  
 to”.  
*yanē* as auxil. 165.

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